Perceptions about multi-
culturalism

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MULTICULTURALISM:

A Content Analysis
of Newspapers, Academic Papers,
Ethnocultural Organization Briefs,
Attitude Surveys, and Ministerial Correspondence

By:

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The materials analyzed in this study were from a variety of sources produced between 1980 and 1988: newspapers - the Globe and Mail, Le Devoir, the Montreal Gazette, the Ottawa Citizen and the Winnipeg Free Press; academic papers; ethnocultural organization briefs; polls/surveys; and ministerial correspondence. The primary topic of **Multiculturalism**, and three secondary ones **Racism, Employment Equity** and **Japanese Canadian Redress** were chosen as the main subjects for analysis. The sub-topics studied were: multiculturalism mandate, government/institutional positions, national unity, national identity, national culture, political considerations, funding, communal power structures, individual rights, legislation/law enforcement, and studies/inquiries.

Primary Observations

- There was a steady rise in the newspaper coverage of multiculturalism-related matters from 1980 to 1988.

- While the media were generally reluctant to use the term "multiculturalism", they referred to it more often in the later years of the study period.

- Multiculturalism was often viewed by the press as being an obstacle to nation-building and to the integrity of a national identity and a national culture.

- Editorialists generally did not relate race relations or community redress issues either administratively or conceptually to multiculturalism.

- Negative perceptions of the political use of multiculturalism by governments, political parties and "ethnic power brokers" were shared by media and academic observers.

- An emergent critique among some journalists and academics perceives multiculturalism as leading to an inverse racism.

- Academics and focus groups criticized categorization schemes of cultural communities used by Multiculturalism.

- The public favoured a multicultural national identity, but had reservations about government funding.

- There is apprehension in the majority communities regarding the erosion of basic Canadian values by immigrant cultures.

- There was a trend of criticism in all materials concerning the perceived ambiguity and contradictions of multiculturalism.

Newspapers

60 of the 252 newspaper articles examined were found to be primarily framed under multiculturalism, 99 under race relations, seven under employment equity and 86 under the Japanese Canadian redress issue. The most significant trend in the number of write-ups on multiculturalism was their almost continuous rise each year from 1980 to 1988. This indicates the steady increase in the press's (positive and negative) discourse regarding the policy. With the exception of the Montreal Gazette, all the other papers largely had a negative approach towards multiculturalism.

It is noteworthy that use of the term "multiculturalism" - referring to the concept, the policy and the relevant government agencies - was often avoided by journalists even when writing about the subject. This tendency, however, seemed generally to diminish in the later years, indicating a greater acceptance of the term. Along with the rise in the number of articles on multiculturalism, references to the policy's impact on national unity, national identity and national culture also grew. In general, the press appeared to hold that all these three facets of Canadian society are at risk as a result of the policy. Criticism of the alleged abuse of multiculturalism by politicians also increased towards the end of the period under study, as did that of the funding of minority cultures' activities.

Emergent trends of newspaper criticism were those focusing on the power of ethnocultural organizations and the perceived inability of individual members of minority cultural group to advance in Canadian society without the backing of ethnocultural organizations. Comment on legislation related to multiculturalism, race relations and employment equity was largely unfavourable with the exception of the Montreal Gazette. There was a steady stream of references to official inquiries, studies and polls in all the papers, especially in the Winnipeg Free Press.

A remarkable aspect of the articles framed under the topic of racism was that the overwhelming majority did not make any mention of initiatives by the Multiculturalism Directorate/Sector towards the elimination of racial discrimination, even as other articles in the same newspapers stated that the agency should strengthen its social programs. Indeed, some later write-ups exhibited a new theme of criticism that blamed multiculturalism for unwittingly exacerbating racism in Canada. Most articles on race relations were about incidents in the respective newspapers' primary readership regions; however, the aggregate totals show that comment/reportage on racially-motivated incidents peaked in 1982-84, coinciding with economically difficult times in the country.

As with race relations, the subject of employment equity was treated separately from multiculturalism in the articles where it formed the primary frame. The general consensus in the newspapers

seemed to be against the legislation of employment equity (in terms of ethnicity) and in favour of retaining what was generally perceived as a merit-based system. Although employment equity came up in a number of articles on multiculturalism and race relations, the topic did not appear to have established itself as a major journalistic frame, with only seven articles in the sample coming under it. However, it is interesting to note that all except one piece on employment equity appeared in the last three years under study, indicating that it may be emerging as a distinct news peg.

Despite numerous references to Multiculturalism ministers and various allusions of the effect of redress to the Japanese Canadian community on other minority communities, there were no direct references to multiculturalism as a concept in the articles on this topic. The subject of redress was largely dealt with as a citizenship issue - of Canada mistreating some of its own.

Academic Papers

In the academic papers that were analyzed, employment equity was discussed by all the articles in the earlier years while all of the later articles brought up the subject of racism. Unlike the tendency in newspapers, academics made definite connections between multiculturalism and race relations and multiculturalism and employment equity. Only one (1988) article mentioned the Japanese Canadian redress issue, which was also made within the framework of multiculturalism.

Several academics remarked on the perceived ambiguity and contradictions of the policy. The political critique of multiculturalism included that accusing governments of exploiting the policy to gain support from minority cultural groups, whose leaderships were also assailed for playing along with politicians for their own gains. As regards the administration of the policy, a continuous thread of criticism focused on the allegedly arbitrary categorization of minority groups by the Directorate/Sector.

Unlike the dominant perception in the press, funding of multicultural programs - especially those in the social sector - was often seen as being inadequate. Most academics favoured the tilting of multiculturalism activities in favour of race relations and employment equity, and the reduction of those aimed at cultural retention. Some articles, especially the later ones, saw the encouragement of cultural retention as inhibiting national unity and creating a lack of acceptance of the policy among the general public. Interestingly, certain academics also tended to present the criticism of high-profile journalists as representing the general mood of the country.

Ethnocultural Briefs

Analysis of ethnocultural briefs showed that although they covered a narrow range of issues, they expressed some very specific matters not appearing elsewhere in the overall study sample. Demands were made for structural changes in the administrative infrastructure and the legislation governing multiculturalism, race relations and employment equity. There were suggestions to monitor the media to ensure that their content was reflective of a multicultural society. Proposals to increase data collection on ethnic bases for the more efficient administration of social equity programs contrasted with criticism in the media of such practises.

Polls/Surveys

Four public opinion polls and two focus group surveys that were analyzed all looked at multiculturalism/immigration's effects on Canadian/Québecois culture. The scope of multiculturalism, multiculturalism funding, and national identity were also significant. The subject of racism came up in all polls and surveys done after 1980; however, views on employment equity and other multicultural legislation were not probed significantly. Views on other trends of common criticism in the press, namely, multiculturalism as a political ploy and the growing power of ethnic organizations were also left largely unexplored.

Findings generally showed that while multiculturalism was acceptable to the vast majority of the public, people were less willing to support it financially. Also interesting is the high level of agreement exhibited for the multicultural identity of Canada. French Canadians, young respondents, and low-income earners, however, were generally less favourably disposed towards the policy. There were some interesting findings from the focus group studies. The 1980 study, which brought together members of cultural minority groups, revealed that they were less willing to receive government aid than generally believed. And the 1987 one, surveying a cross-section of the public, showed strong feelings of apprehension regarding the erosion of mainstream cultural values.

Ministerial Correspondence

As the sample of ministerial correspondence available for study was highly unrepresentative of the entire corpus for this period, few generalizations could be made. The correspondence from earlier years focused largely on criticizing funding of multiculturalism activities and the perceived divisiveness of the policy, which was viewed as being politically inspired. As in the responses to the 1987 focus group study, multiculturalism was seen by various correspondents as being linked to immigration. While the themes of criticism expressed in the letters generally paralleled that in the press, the former tended to be more direct in their comments.

INTRODUCTION

The materials analyzed in this study came from a variety of sources produced between 1980 and 1988: newspapers - the Globe and Mail, Le Devoir, the Montreal Gazette, the Ottawa Citizen and the Winnipeg Free Press; academic papers; ethnocultural organization briefs; polls/surveys; and ministerial correspondence.

The content analysis involved:

- the identification and classification of the major critiques expressed in the materials, according to the manners and frequency with which they were expressed;

- analysis of the rationale behind each of the major critiques in each source in order to determine whether they were based on facts, perceptions etc. and to what extent they were common to alternative critiques in other sources;

- identification from these analyses of themes which can be addressed in the Sector's public education strategy, be tested through attitude research, and be considered more closely in the ongoing policy review.

Methodological Note

Approximately 400 press articles were collected for the purposes of the study from the newspaper clippings files (on the subjects of "Multiculturalism", "Racism" and "Japanese in Canada") of the Parliamentary Library in Ottawa. Samples of 45-55 pieces of writing from each newspaper were examined. As a key purpose of the

study was to make observations on positions adopted by the respective staffs of the various papers, editorials were treated as primary source material. Analytical and feature pieces were next in the order of importance. News stories, apart from recording the actual incidence of coverage of specific developments, became increasingly relevant when they tended towards articulating opinions. Articles by guest columnists were considered to be less significant, but were included when there was a lack of material by newspaper staffs on the topics under study. The absence or scarcity of coverage of matters considered significant from the Multiculturalism Sector's point of view become noteworthy through their very paucity in the newspapers.

17 academic articles were scanned, of which ten were retained for analysis. Other material examined consisted of four briefs presented to the Federal Government by ethnocultural organizations, six opinion polls and surveys, and 88 letters written to the Minister responsible for Multiculturalism.

In addition the qualitative analysis of the above materials, they have also been quantified and presented in raw tables. Upon experimenting with several formats in order to produce the most cohesive and coherent tabulation scheme that would incorporate a numerical analysis of the widely varying material, the raw data was plotted in two tables identifying, respectively, the main topics and the sub-topics. In addition to the primary topic of Multiculturalism, three secondary ones, namely, Racism, Employment Equity and Japanese Canadian Redress were chosen as the main

3

topics. (Other related subjects such as immigration and refugee policy would have made the study diffused and unfocused.)

Plotting of the main topic tables for the newspapers and the ministerial correspondence was carried out by choosing only one topic for each article; this was done by identifying the dominant "frame" or "peg" in which a respective write-up had been placed. However, the academic articles, ethnocultural organization briefs and polls/surveys, due to their more extensive treatments of the various topics, were not plotted in exclusive main topic categories.

A number of sub-topics were identified for the second tabular format:

1. **Multiculturalism mandate:** references to the scope of multiculturalism policy and programs:

2. **Government/institutional positions:** references to federal, provincial, municipal and non-governmental agencies;

3. **National unity:** references to concepts of Canadian nation-building and cohesion or lack thereof;

4. **National identity:** references to the concept of Canadian identity or lack thereof;

5. **National culture:** references to dominant/mainstream or Canadian/Québecois culture;

6. **Political considerations:** references to the use of multiculturalism as a political ploy;

7. **Funding:** references to multiculturalism funding (including that for race relations and employment equity programs);

4

8. **Communal power structures:** references to political dynamics of minority cultural groups and to inter-group conflict;

9. **Individual rights:** references to discussions of individual rights in the context of multiculturalism;

10. **Legislation/law enforcement:** references to multiculturalism (including human rights, race relations, employment equity) legislation, and law enforcement;

11. **Studies/inquiries:** references to research (including polls, surveys) and official inquiries.

12. **Multiculturalism not discussed:** even though either multiculturalism, racism, employment equity or Japanese Canadian redress was discussed, no direct references were made to multiculturalism.

These subjects were plotted non-exclusively in the sub-topic tables.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

60 of the 252 newspaper articles examined for the purposes of this study were found to be primarily framed under multiculturalism, 99 under race relations, seven under employment equity and 86 under the Japanese Canadian redress issue.

Multiculturalism

The most significant trend in the number of write-ups on multiculturalism was the almost continuous rise in them for each year from 1980 to 1988. This indicates the steady increase in the press's (positive and negative) discourse regarding the policy. With the exception of the Montreal Gazette, all the other papers largely had a negative approach towards multiculturalism. While the critiques of the newspapers were based mainly on the principles of the policy, those of Le Devoir and the Winnipeg Free Press also criticized what they viewed as a Toronto-driven federal multiculturalism policy.

It is also noteworthy that use of the term "multiculturalism" - referring to the concept, the policy and the relevant government agencies - was often avoided by journalists even when writing about the subject; this tendency, however, seemed generally to diminish in the later years, indicating a greater acceptance of the word.

Along with the rise in the number of articles on multiculturalism, references to the policy's impact on national unity, national identity and national culture also grew. In general, the

press appeared to hold that all these three facets of Canadian society are at risk as a result of the policy. Criticism of the alleged abuse of multiculturalism by politicians also increased towards the end of the period under study, as did that of the funding of minority cultures' activities.

Emergent trends of newspaper criticism were those focusing on the power of ethnocultural organizations and the perceived inability of individual members of minority cultural group to advance in Canadian society without the backing of ethnocultural organizations. Comment on legislation related to multiculturalism, race relations and employment equity was largely unfavourable with the exception of the Montreal Gazette. There was a steady stream of references to official inquiries, studies and polls in all the papers, especially in the Winnipeg Free Press, with 1982 and 1983 seeing the largest number of stories on this subject.

Race Relations

The largest number (99) of write-ups in the sample were framed under this topic. A remarkable aspect of these articles was that the overwhelming majority did not make any mention of initiatives by the Multiculturalism Directorate/Sector towards the elimination of racial discrimination, even as other articles in the same newspapers stated that the agency should strengthen its social programs. Indeed, some later articles exhibited a new theme of criticism that blamed multiculturalism for unwittingly exacerbating racism in Canada.

Most write-ups regarding race relations were about incidents in the respective newspapers' primary readership regions; however, the aggregate totals show that comment/reportage on racially-motivated incidents peaked in 1982-84, coinciding with economically difficult times in the country.

Employment Equity

As with race relations, this subject was treated separately from multiculturalism in the articles where it formed the primary frame. The general consensus in the newspapers seemed to be against the legislation of employment equity (in terms of ethnicity) and in favour of retaining what was generally perceived as a merit-based system.

Although employment equity came up in a number of articles on multiculturalism and race relations, the topic did not appear to have established itself as a major journalistic frame, with only seven articles in the sample coming under it. However, it is interesting to note that all except one write-up on employment equity appeared in the last three years under study, indicating that it may be emerging as a distinct news peg.

Japanese Canadian Redress

A large proportion of the articles on this topic analyzed for the study were editorials. Despite numerous references to Multiculturalism ministers and various allusions of the effect of compensation on other minority communities, there were no direct

references to multiculturalism as a concept in the 86 articles on this topic in the study sample. The subject of redress was largely dealt with as a citizenship issue - of Canada mistreating some of its own. However, the various Multiculturalism ministers' Citizenship portfolio was never mentioned, nor was the notion of the multicultural identity of the country.

The Globe and Mail

Of the 45 articles in the sample, there were 29 editorials, 10 columns, and six feature articles by the newspaper's staff.

Multiculturalism

Comment in the Globe and Mail on multiculturalism appears to have been scarce before 1983. Only four of the thirteen articles on the subject can be described as being generally positive; significantly, all of the former are dated before 1985.

However, not all opinion in the earlier period was favourable. A November 1982 entry in Richard J. Needham's "writer's notebook" quoted a letter from a reader (Frank Kutas) who explained why he was

> "violently opposed to our governments' multicultural policies. Above all, they balkanize the country, which is disunited to begin with. In the process, they deprive a goodly portion of the populace from discovering that there is a big, beautiful world out there, by herding them into the narrow corrals of their ethnic ghettos (at an enormous cost) and then forcing me to pick up the tab. These policies also delay and, not infrequently, eliminate opportunities for newcomers to learn the English language ..."

10

The various themes of criticism aired here, namely, that multiculturalism is an obstacle to national unity, that it leads to ghettoization and that it is fiscally wasteful, recur frequently in the materials examined in this study.

Five years later, in February 1987, Needham's column quoted a Thomas James who added the theme of multiculturalism as a political ploy to the list:

> "If it is true that 'in unity there is strength,' then surely in disunity (another word for multiculturalism) there is weakness. The major political parties' desperation to win votes from each little ethnic group is sickening and is tearing the country apart."

Needham asked immediately after the above quote, "Does it really require much courage to say that people permanently resident in Canada are, or should seek to become Canadians?" seemingly implying that in order for ethnic minority members to become Canadian they would have to sever the links to their respective native cultures.

Generally, even the positive Globe and Mail pieces tended to have elements of criticism in them. William Johnson's column of June 1983 was a biographical sketch of Laurence Decore's career as chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. While dwelling favourably on Decore's contributions to multiculturalism, the write-up describes the policy of multiculturalism as "born in ambiguity" and tainted by "blatant political opportunism" - themes of criticism that were common in the paper.

A September 1984 editorial "Leaving hate behind" focused on "old world hates" transplanted into "Multicultural Canada". The

manner in which the Multiculturalism gave grants to ethnocultural organizations was also criticized. It ended positively by describing a teacher's efforts in producing understanding between various groups by offering a course on various religions. However, the message seemed to be that multiculturalism was best handled on the individual rather than the government level.

"The art of mixing well", an editorial in October 1984, is a celebratory write-up on multiculturalism written in response to Queen Elizabeth's praise for "bringing together the peoples of many cultures into one unified community", expressed while she was visiting Canada. In this entirely favourable article, which began "Canadians take multiculturalism as a fact of life", the term multiculturalism was not mentioned again nor was the government agency.

The two write-ups by Mavor Moore, a columnist on cultural matters, (dated September 1984 - following a federal election - and March 1986 - following Otto Jelinek's announcement regarding multiculturalism and business) indicated that he viewed multiculturalism as contradictory, confusing and divisive. These views seemed to stem from his basic premise that the multiculturalism policy's goal is "how to square assimilation with the retention of variety." The initial purpose of the policy, according to him, was "to help immigrants integrate themselves into Canadian society". Therefore, he found "startling" the "new credo" which stated "that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity".

He also believed that "Multiculturalism works on the premise that one culture is as good as the next. This negates the possibility of applying a criterion of excellence among cultures ..." Moore viewed the "connection between culture and ethnicity" as "uncertain". Government multiculturalism agencies are "designed to recognize and subsidize as wide a variety of transplanted cultures as could be found," he wrote. He was critical of Otto Jelinek's proposal "for the Canada Council, already strapped for cash, to take on the job of handing out multicultural grants."

Even though "nobody is quite sure what it means" multi-culturalism is the "darling of all (political) parties," stated Moore. He seemed to believe that members of minority communities had no choice but to embrace multiculturalism policies: "Where the right of a group to maintain traditional customs conflicts with the human rights of an individual or those of other groups, something must give."

A May 15, 1985 editorial was written in a similar vein. Titled "Mr. Murta's mosaic", it took issue with the minister's statement that "We're all immigrants." The editorial stated that: "a great many of (the people born in Canada) ... have little interest in the original cultures of their ancestors." It saw Mr. Murta's statements "We say we're all Canadians ..." and "This country is never going to be a melting pot" as being contradictory. He/she found that "Multiculturalism is a highly ambiguous concept" because "it affirms the legitimacy of all the world's cultures" while encouraging "immigrants and their descendants to perpetuate

13

original values and customs" in Canada. There seemed to be a rejection in the editorial of the multicultural concept of the coexistence of cultures in one country.

Additional criticism of the piece regarding multiculturalism was that it "creates power structures of its own" in the various cultural communities. As with the previously-mentioned articles of Moore, the aspect of individual choice in official multiculturalism was disregarded: "A Canadian-born son of Italian immigrants in Toronto wonders whether, to progress here, he must be an 'Italian-Canadian' and work through Italian-Canadian institutions and networks." Multiculturalism was also seen as inhibiting "the growth of a shared identity." Finally, the writer questioned the necessity for a proposed Multiculturalism Act.

An opinion piece by John Allemang, in July 1986, lamented the public's lack of enthusiasm for Canada Day, comparing it to U.S. independence day celebrations. The article ended with a quote from Peter Nygard, a Torontonian involved in the American hoopla:

> "You can't help but get caught up by the excitement in the States," he says. "I envy that. I'd love to see it in Canada. But if you're promoting multiculturalism, as Canada does, it's hard to promote unity."

Using the words of cultural minority members to assail multiculturalism seemed to be popular trend among journalists criticizing the policy.

At the time that parliament was considering the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the newspaper ran an editorial highly critical of the policy. The June 1988 piece asked:

> Do we want more integration of Canada's different cultures into one nationality, or more recognition of their independence from each other? Do we want a common sense of citizenship based on shared values, despite our varied origins, or a more technical sense of citizenship based on the appreciation of how few values we do share despite our passports?

It found contradictory David Crombie's statement that "Citizenship is the one thing we all have in common" and Gerry Weiner's "Multiculturalism helps make us special - make us Canadian." The trend of thought that considered national unity and multiculturalism mutually exclusive appears to have been a strong one among Globe and Mail editorialists and columnists.

The June 1988 editorialist thought that the increase in the Multiculturalism budget was "striking":

> So more money will go to heritage language training, ethnic studies and "national ethnocultural organizations ... " And more money will go to programs to educate Canadians about the virtue of their differences.

No mention was made of improving funding of race relations programs, which was announced as a major focus in the Sector's news release. Instead, the paper implied that the employment equity initiatives led to racial discrimination:

> Ottawa is also moving more strongly on quotas for hiring visible minorities ... Only four years ago, Ottawa did not keep track of people according to the color of their skin. This is progress?

This theme of criticism may gain strength as statistics are increasingly collected on ethnic bases.

Another major criticism is the growing power of ethnocultural organizations. The editorial quoted the words of Bhausaheb Ubale,

a human rights commissioner and vocal "ethnic" critic of multiculturalism:

> "... the political parties are ghettoizing ethnic groups. In this process, we are creating a new class of political power brokers within each ethnic group ... This has created jealousies and infights within a particular ethnic group ... Personally, I wanted to make my own contribution to this country as any other Canadian, but I cannot do that unless I enjoy the support of the ethnic group I come from ..."

Following the tabling of the Multiculturalism bill in parliament, columnist Jeffrey Simpson questioned on December 3, 1987 the need for a Multiculturalism Act when it "creates no new ministry, offers no additional funds ... and guarantees no rights not otherwise already protected." According to Simpson, "The answer ... lies in the poor standing of the conservative party with certain ethnic groups." Regarding "a full-blown Ministry of Multiculturalism," he wrote that its only purpose "would be to do on an enlarged scale what the government already does - give money to all kinds of ethnic organizations".

Race Relations

Of the eleven articles on racism, only four make any references to multiculturalism. A short feature in July 1981 by Marina Strauss on how a "Film on racism jolted Fleming into action" was generally positive and made a definite point about the mandate of Multiculturalism regarding race relations. However, the latter fact was rarely repeated in later articles.

16

A May 1982 editorial criticized "Israel Ludwig, Winnipeg lawyer and chairman of the race relations committee of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism" which proposed legislative measures to restrict the promulgation of racist messages in the media. Mr. Ludwig's charge that the media sensationalized racism was challenged by the newspaper which asked "Should we have omitted comments by James Fleming, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, that he feared racial riots in Canada ..." The editorial concluded, "If commissions are allowed to take arbitrary measures in the pursuit of one goal, however desirable it may be, how many others could dignify the principle of cutting off free speech by citing their own goals?" While the CCCM was discredited by the writer, nothing was said in the piece about its functions, make-up or history.

A June 1983 editorial, "Study after study", criticized "Multiculturalism Minister James Fleming" who "cries out that there is an 'urgent need' for an investigation by a parliamentary committee into racism in Canada". The piece ended, "Still, if we plan to throw money at it (the problem of racism), there are probably ... more practical objectives than obtaining one more report and we might add, a high profile for Mr. Fleming's ministry." There are no specific examples given by the writer of the "practical objectives" nor is there any mention of Multiculturalism's initiatives on race relations.

Employment Equity

There were only four articles in the sample that could be classified as being primarily on this subject. A June 1982 editorial questioned the methodology by which an Ontario Task Force on Equal Opportunity determined subjects' ethnicity. The piece indicated that using ethnicity as a factor in appointments to the provincial boards and commissions was not useful: "In Ontario, all you have to be is a Tory." Multiculturalism was not discussed.

The paper's response to another survey in January 1985 (on employment equity in Toronto) which indicated wide-scale discrimination was much more positive. It especially commended the study's methodology and commented:

> It is depressing to realize that, in spite of mounting public campaigns for legislated action to see such barriers dismantled, employers themselves have not taken steps to remedy the problem ... Employers should be aware that if they don't clean up their act, governments may be quite prepared, one way or another, to do it for them.

However, multiculturalism - the concept or the government agency - was not mentioned.

Looking at the problem of the lack of opportunity for non-White Canadians in the cultural industry, Mavor Moore, in an April 1987 column, stated that the

> problem we face is that the accumulated literature of the performing arts is generally ill-adapted to today's pluralistic imperatives ... this means not enough new films, plays, musicals, operas, ballets and the like ... are being created to provide the variety of expression that our artists need and our audiences deserve ... The most adamantine of pragmatic stumbling blocks to multiculturalism is the same as to culture: all this costs too much ...

18

Although Moore's attitude towards multiculturalism appears to be more positive than in his previous articles (discussed above), it is worth noting that he still treats multiculturalism and (national/mainstream) "culture" as distinctly separate entities.

An editorial in May 1987 on the police hiring of visible minority members criticized the fact that only a "solitary non-White was among 59 Metro police constables promoted to sergeant during the past year ... Without turning the merit promotion principle upside down, was one non-white sergeant the best we could do?" Despite its criticism of the situation, the paper appeared to have retreated from its stronger support for employment equity expressed in the 1985 editorial.

Japanese Canadian Redress

Although in several instances the Globe and Mail stated that a proper redress settlement for all interned Japanese Canadians would "tell all visible minorities in this country that kind of heinous action will never again take place in Canada ...", only one (dated June 22, 1984) of the 16 editorials on the subject mentioned multiculturalism:

> ... for Japanese-Canadians and other minorities, Canada's readiness to compensate the victims of past abuses who are still among us would be an earnest (illustration) of this multicultural society's commitment to its ideals.

Of the 50 articles in the sample from this newspaper, there were 15 by columnists, seven signed feature articles with by-lines, 14 news stories by Le Devoir staff, seven from La Presse Canadienne and five contributions by guest writers (including speech transcripts).

Multiculturalism

Eight of the eleven articles that were primarily on this subject appeared in 1987 and 1988; Le Devoir opinion writers were mostly negative towards the policy.

In an August 1980 write-up in "L'actualité" column, Robert Décary expressed his reservations about the value of incorporating multiculturalism in the Canadian constitution:

> La politique fédérale, conçue, au départ, pour contrebalancer les exigences par trop québécoises, et repoussées hors Québec, d'un biculturalisme réduit peu á peu au bilinguisme, commence à produire ses fruits. Il n'est pas sûr, cependant que l'arbre canadien à deux têtes, la française et l'anglaise, ne finisse par plier sous le poids de toutes ces branches que les communautés ethniques, non satisfaites d'y greffer, veulent transformer en de nouvelles têtes. A deux têtes, le Canada avait du mal à vivre. Qu'en sera-t-il, quand il en aura d'avantage?

This particular criticism of federal multiculturalism policy within the biculturalism/bilingualism context did not reappear in later issues.

Even though no other article with a primary focus on multiculturalism was found in the Le Devoir sample until 1985, the critique of the policy was carried out in opinion pieces dealing

20

mainly with racism. Le Devoir published a series of speeches made
at an international conference at Québec city on minorities and
human rights in March 1985. Gil Rémillard, then a professor of
constitutional law at Laval University, stated in his presentation
that Canada had accounted for its multicultural nature (along with
its linguistic and aboriginal aspects) in its Charter of Rights.
However, Michel Arsenault of the newspaper's staff did not mention
multiculturalism in his concluding report on the conference.

In September 1985, the paper had a guest feature by a
communications consultant (Yves Alavo) who wrote on the need for
the media to acknowledge the importance of incorporating cultural
minorities into their domain. Its tone ran counter to the general
opinion on the value of multiculturalism expressed by the paper's
own writers:

> Le multiculturalisme nous offre des avantages
> considérables. En effet, il peut donner au Canada une
> autre dimension sur la scène mondiale au niveau du
> commerce et des relations internationales: c'est un atout
> de taille.

The program he proposed sounded far-reaching in Le Devoir (indeed,
to the mainstream press as a whole):

> - permettre la reconnaissance sociale, politique et
> économique des diverses cultures de la société
> canadienne;
> - arriver à fournir une égalité d'accès à l'éducation en
> tenant compte des différences culturelles;
> ....
> - s'enraciner dans ses propres valeurs culturelles mais
> s'ouvrir vers d'autres cultures;
> ...
> - partager des objectifs larges qui sont communs à plusieurs
> groupes culturels, mais aussi développer un esprit critique,
> ouvert et libéré de tous les préjuges.

21

However, the daily's editorial critique of official multiculturalism became even more vigorous with the tabling of the Multiculturalism bill. On December 5, 1987, Daniel Latouche stated:

> ... au Québec le multiculturalisme devra servir à enrichir le caractère distinct de la société quebécoise, où il continuera d'être perçu comme une tentative d'arrière-garde pour empêcher les communautés culturelles de s'insérer dans la réalité française majoritaire.

He was especially critical of what he appears to have viewed as the imposition of an anglophone definition of multiculturalism:

> Pendant combien de temps faudra-t-il rappeler à ces gens d'Ottawa qu'il est inacceptable qu'un document aussi important ne trouve pas le moyen de faire référence à un seul auteur francophone alors qu'il cite à tour de bras des commentateurs d'Alberta et de Toronto. Pourquoi leur laisser à eux l'exclusivité de la définition du multiculturalisme ... ... le multiculturalisme ne peut pas vouloir dire la même chose à Montréal qu'à Winnipeg.

Jean-Claude Leclerc (a frequent commentator on multiculturalism and race relations) continued five days later in the same tone, criticizing multiculturalism as an electioneering ploy and the concept of a national multicultural identity:

> Mais nulle part au Canada on n'a réglé le problème des langues et de la cohabitation entre groupes, encore moins les questions plus délicates de la représentation des communautés dans les écoles, les médias et la fonction publique. Partis et gouvernement ont leur statégie pour cultiver le vote "ethnique"! Mais nul n'ose proposer un vrais pays de la diversité.
> Égalité dans l'emploi, oui; expression des cultures, fort bien. Mais pour le reste, c'est le vague sinon le vide...
> Le gouvernement fédéral ne se proposerait pas comme politique "de sensibiliser la population au fait que le multiculturalisme est un élément fondamental de l'identité et du patrimoine canadiens" si cet élément faisait déjà partie de l'identité nationale!
> Au surplus, on continue de confondre nations, peuples, cultures, minorités ethniques, langues, religions, comme si ces réalités étaient toutes des "collectivités" à reconnaître officiellement et à developper.

The emerging critique of multiculturalism in the Québecois press, it seems, will increasingly be placed within the framework of the relationship of the minority cultures with the dominant French culture of the province.

It is interesting to note that of the subsequent articles on minority cultures just two referred to multiculturalism. The only 1988 write-up mentioning the term was that announcing that "Quelques $192 millions seront affectés au budget consacré au multiculturalisme d'ici cinq ans ..."

Race Relations

Of the 50 Le Devoir articles studied, 29 were framed in this context. From 1982 to 1985, 12 were prompted primarily by "taxi racism", dealing with discrimination against cab-drivers of Haitian origin; however, these articles rarely brought up the subject of multiculturalism. Nevertheless, it should be noted that (negative and positive) links between race relations and multiculturalism were drawn increasingly from 1983 onwards - although primarily by non-editorial writers.

A May 27, 1983 article was the first to mention the two topics together; however, it was not written by the newspaper's staff but was picked up from Canadian Press's wire. The piece was on a proposal by James Fleming, the minister responsible for multiculturalism, to form a parliamentary committee to study racism.

Three days later, Jean-Claude Leclerc, whose tendency generally was to question the validity of accusations of racism, expressed criticism of the proposed inquiry, implying that the separation of cultural groups through multiculturalism in itself fostered racism:

> Il est plus aisé de convenir d'un effort pour enrayer les idées et les pratiques racistes que de trouver les moyens les plus appropriés de mener le combat à terme. Ainsi, il est ironique de voir un ministre du "multiculturalisme" se faire le champion d'une enquête sur le racisme. En faisant du Canada non pas seulement un pays bilingue, mais aussi une société formée de communautés ethniques diverses, le gouvernement central s'est trouvé à alimenter, indirectement, les frictions entre groupes. Le racisme n'est pas seulement le fait du groupe dominant ou d'une société peu accueillante aux nouveaux venus. Il est aussi stimulé par la coexistence de groupes qui ont tendance à se fermer sur eux-mêmes, voire à réclamer la première allégeance de leur membres. Rares sont les groupes humains qui échappent à la crainte de l'étranger, à l'exaltation exagérée de leur "supériorité" ou de leur originalité. Le racisme est une plaie universelle.

In January 1986, Le Devoir published a speech that the president of the Council of Cultural Communities and Immigration, Juanita Westmoreland-Traoré, had made on relations between the police and the minorities in Montréal. In outlining an elaborate plan to improve the situation, which she said was unhealthy, Westmoreland-Traoré made a definite link between the importance of multicultural understanding and good race relations.

The need for legislation to back up multiculturalism was pointed out in a news article in March 1987 largely quoting the founder of "SOS Racisme" in France, who was visiting Montréal. And the lead of a February 1988 story written by Isabelle Paré,

24

concerning the shooting of a Black youth by a White policeman, referred to "the multicultural reality of Québec society":

> Pour éviter d'autres éclats de violence, SOS-racisme presse le ministre de la Justice ... de faire appel de la décision du jury dans l'affaire Gossett et de réformer le système judiciaire pour mieux refléter la réalité multiculturelle de la société québecoise.

This approach was, however, not adopted by the editorial staff.

Employment Equity

There were no articles framed primarily within this topic in the sample studied, although the subject was mentioned occasionally in relation to multiculturalism and race relations.

Japanese Canadian Redress

Of the ten write-ups on this topic, including a guest feature by executive staff members of B'nai Brith, none referred to multiculturalism.

The Montreal Gazette

No articles on the subjects under study were found in the Montreal Gazette for 1980. Of the 56 examined, nine were columns and the rest editorials.

Multiculturalism

Articles that could be classified under this heading (numbering 17) only began to show up in 1985; the previous emphasis

25

had largely been on racism with little reference to multiculturalism. The August 1985 editorial reporting the Montréal Urban Community's "promises to give (cultural) minorities a voice at the centre of power" and a May 1988 column discussing the transformation of the Liberal Party by the "cultural mosaic" did not once mention "multiculturalism".

The general attitude in the paper towards federal multiculturalism was positive, although columnists tended to be more critical. Efforts, or lack thereof, by Québec authorities - provincial and municipal - however, came under stronger and more consistent attack. The Montréal Gazette was generally in favour the concept of a multicultural Canadian identity. It was largely uncritical of studies regarding multiculturalism issues and favoured the holding of official inquiries, the strengthening of legislation and the enforcement of laws concerning racism-related matters. The newspaper was also consistently in favour of increasing immigration, which often came up while discussing racism and multiculturalism.

An October 1987 editorial on Montréal's Chinese community's nomination of three of its members for a school board election indicated the Montreal Gazette's views on national and ethnic identity:

> It is perhaps regrettable that all three are ...
> candidates of "the Chinese community." The goal surely
> must be for members of ethnic communities to participate
> fully (in) public life as full Canadians, not just as
> representatives of their own communities.

Federal multiculturalism was the subject of four pieces in this category, with two being generally positive. The third write-up, dated July 8, 1987, criticized the Canadian Ethnocultural Council's complaint that the Meech Lake accord "consigns ethnic minorities to the 'back of the bus.'" It stated:

> Ethnic communities have the solemn confirmation that the charter must preserve and enhance multiculturalism. Linguistic minorities have only the affirmation that they will be "preserved" - nothing about enhancement.

William Johnson's column of January 9, 1988, was a critique of what he perceived to be the contradiction between the government's multiculturalism and immigration policies. And while praising the government's tabling of the Multiculturalism Act he goes on to write,

> These are noble sentiments, though the federal government puts little of its money where it says its heart is. In 1985-86, Ottawa spent only $22.7 million on multiculturalism, a pittance.

Race Relations

Of the 56 Gazette articles studied, 24 were primarily on race relations. The March 6, 1982 editorial was on the "Gallup poll on racial attitudes" commissioned by the Multiculturalism Directorate. Commenting on the fact that only 34% of respondents would support "multiculturalism and harmony among races" while 43% would not, the write-up stated:

> Mr. Fleming proposes new studies, symposia and so on. They will no doubt be helpful. So would advertising and education campaigns to make Canadians realize how much we gain from immigration.

Considering this comment and the framing of the editorial under racism, it is all the more remarkable that few subsequent op-ed pieces make explicit the relationship between race relations and multiculturalism or the Multiculturalism Directorate.

Most of the write-ups in this category dealt with "taxi-racism" in Montréal, relating to discrimination against Black cab-drivers (of largely Haitian origin). This issue, which first emerged in 1982, was dominant until 1985. The Montreal Gazette proposed an activist approach towards the problem, asking for broad government inquiries, strengthening of legislation, and imposition of stiff penalties. It also proposed that federal, provincial and municipal agencies boycott offending taxi companies and was critical of those that continued to patronize them. The issue was treated as a municipal and provincial one, and there was no discussion of the concept of multiculturalism or of government race relations initiatives - federal or provincial - seeking to create better race relations.

However, the trend of relating the two topics did grow in the later years under study. Commenting on a federal immigration department focus group survey that revealed "a disturbing level of racism", a December 4, 1985 editorial remarked:

> The findings should alert individual Canadians, teachers, community leaders and governments at all levels to the need for constant vigilance against intolerance and for constant efforts to move this country toward multicultural harmony.

As for national identity, the write-up went on to say that the "forebears" of most Canadians "were nearly all immigrants at one time or another."

And a December 15, 1986 editorial, which criticized the singling out of visible minorities in the RCMP's checks for illegal immigrants, stated:

> Canada already is a multiracial and multicultural country, and is becoming even more so as new waves of immigrants continue to arrive. The authorities should be able to figure out a way of enforcing immigration laws that does not assume that some Canadians are somehow more legitimately Canadian than others with non-English or non-French names or darker skin.

Employment Equity

The only two articles that could be placed under this rubric were consecutive editorials of July 15 and 16, 1985, both in response to the final report of "a now-defunct committee for the establishment of a cultural communities action plan" (CIPACC). The write-ups were critical of the Québec government's perceived failure to increase minority representation in the province's public service:

> In its three years of existence as an advisory body CIPACC did much to assist the government and encourage public support for cultural communities. But the official policy of integrating non-francophones into the larger community, and particularly into the civil service, has gotten nowhere.

(The terms "employment equity" or "affirmative action" are not used in either write-up.)

Japanese Canadian Redress

21 of the 56 the Montréal Gazette articles studied were on this issue, the general themes in which were Canadian citizenship and racism. While frequent references were made to Multiculturalism ministers, "visible minorities", and "a Canadian Race Relations Foundation", multiculturalism was rarely discussed as a concept or as a government agency in articles on Japanese Canadian redress. The only two (negative) allusions to multiculturalism came in Keith Spicer's occasional column that discussed the redress issue on August 4, 1982:

> Why, after all these years, have we not heard the kind of demands screamed by other Canadian cultural groups about comparative trivialities such as woundingly named restaurants and too-small grants for folk-dancing?

and on June 27, 1984:

> The latest episode was last weak's weasly performance by Trudeau's minister of multiculturalism, David Collonette. Ottawa ... could not make an "apology" for an act carried out by an elected government. Instead it would put $5 million into an institute to fight racism. Such ... throwing of more money at civil servants is typical of a government ..."

In the light of the Montreal Gazette's longstanding support of anglophone minority rights in Québec, it was interesting to note how an editorial on July 7, 1984 linked the treatment of a linguistic minority and a cultural minority - usually placed in distinctly separate frames. Speaking of Prime Minister Trudeau's refusal to grant an official apology to Japanese Canadians it remarked that:

> It was in stark contrast to one of Mr. Trudeau's other acts that day, a final and superbly eloquent plea to Ontario to accept official bilingualism. Recognition of

injustice to one minority did not necessarily extend to
other minorities' sufferings.

The Ottawa Citizen

Of the 45 articles perused, 17 were editorials, 17 columns and
11 features. Only those features written by the Ottawa Citizen
staff were examined.

Multiculturalism

Although the largest number (17) of the 45 the Ottawa Citizen
articles in the sample were primarily on multiculturalism, the
active treatment of multiculturalism began as late as 1986, with
only two previous articles being on this subject. A feature by
Mohammed Azhar Ali Khan (a columnist whose views seemed to run
counter to generally negative editorial opinion on
multiculturalism) did a piece in December 1981 featuring an
interview with James Fleming. Several key ideas espoused by the
minister were aired. The columnist described the Directorate's
annual budget of $14 million as "paltry", and wrote:

> Critics of multiculturalism range from those who feel
> that the government merely pays lip service to the cause
> and does very little in this field to those who feel that
> multiculturalism may be divisive. The program is
> somewhere in between ... Assistance therefore is provided
> for the social and cultural integration of immigrants
> into Canadian society for encouraging the learning and
> retention of heritage languages, for research, writing,
> translation and publication of historical works and
> creative literature reflecting our cultural diversity ...
> His (Fleming's) department is seriously studying the

31

problem (of racism) and launching a million-dollar public education program to combat racialism.

(However, the Citizen's later articles did not reflect a link between the concept of multiculturalism and race relations, even though there were several commentaries on the involvement of the Multiculturalism Directorate/Sector in conducting studies on racism-related issues.)

The next piece specifically on multiculturalism was an April 1985 feature on the teaching of heritage languages in Ottawa-Carleton. The tone was descriptive and generally positive; but there was not a single reference to the term "multiculturalism", with only the provincial and regional education agencies being mentioned.

In June 1986, the Ottawa Citizen ran a series of features on minorities in the region called "Ottawa's Many Cultures". Although multiculturalism was rarely mentioned in the individual features, a concluding piece on June 28 referred to a multicultural national identity by ending with the quotations:

> "Being a true Canadian doesn't cross out our heritage," marvels Mira Gawalawicz, president of the Ottawa Polish Congress. "It's the only country in the world that is so multicultural. Not everyone understands or appreciates that."

The next write-up by Keith Spicer, editor of the Ottawa Citizen, was the first of what was to be a series of negative writings on multiculturalism by the paper's staff. While the editor's August 1986 piece was relatively mild, it gave an indication of some of the ideas that were to be elaborated upon

later. Spicer presented a selective history of Canadian immigration
and inter-ethnic relations from a viewpoint in which "Canadian"
seems to apply only to people of British ancestry:

> ... in January 1950, we caught a glimpse of a world which
> was both reassuringly British and exotic. That world was
> the postwar Commonwealth ... After the 1950s, mainly
> British waves of European immigration started giving way
> to a series of continental waves ... Not only did the
> continental Europeans broaden Canadians' horizons by
> working and living among them, and making art and music
> for them; they started for this meat and potatoes people
> one of the most subversive activities there is:
> restaurants.

This brief history of immigration focuses mainly on the culinary
contribution of European and other peoples to Canada, whose
population is viewed as being primarily British before the 1950s.
The article continues: "the moves by Pearson and Pierre Trudeau to
give equal status to French in the federal government, (Anglo-
Celtic) Canadians anchored in their institutions the idea that our
oldest and largest non-native minority group would be treated as
a parallel majority (parentheses inserted)." The complaints by
"ethnic" groups

> became less aggressive when in 1971, Trudeau brought in
> his multiculturalism policy. Feeding these non-official
> language groups healthy dollops of cash for many years
> has muted their attacks on official bilingualism, just
> as Trudeau hoped.

Continuing with this trend of thought the editor/columnist
argued in February 1987 that since the cultural minorities had
accepted bilingualism, multiculturalism - as devised by Trudeau -
had outlived its usefulness. However, he did endorse the latter
policy's new directions, while continuing to criticize support for
artistic activity and ethnocultural organizations:

> ... the tactic of the moment has congealed into a
> permanent strategy of funding ethnicity: this year, for
> some $21 million ... What about new goals for our
> increasingly multicultural - indeed multiracial -
> society? ... To meet these changes, perhaps any
> investment in multiculturalism ought to accelerate the
> trends already apparent in the program's new priorities:
> integration of immigrants, short-term (not multiyear -
> Spicer's words) teaching of heritage languages to
> immigrant children, anti-racism programs. All of these
> priorities carry risks ... Yet these and other goals
> which mirror the growing diversity of our society make
> sense. They should become more and more the focus of any
> multicultural program - with less and less emphasis on
> grants for fostering exotic folklore and the power of
> "ethnic" lobbies.

But the "final question" that the Ottawa Citizen editor asked in

this article was: "isn't the time coming to stop making a religion

of mosaics altogether and to start fostering a national spirit we

can all identify with?"

> Making a virtue of a weakness, a glory of a hindrance to
> nationhood, we pay people to have foreign roots, and so
> define Canada as being ... nothing in particular. Between
> fanning the flames of chauvinism and denying any common
> identity, there must be a healthy middle course.
> Imagining that course ought to be a vital purpose, these
> days, for the bureaucrats and politicians who preside
> over Trudeau's "short-term" tactic.

In another piece, in September 1987, Spicer mused about the concept

of national culture -

> Culture, when you dig a little beneath pretension and
> hype, is any style of being that makes a people feel it
> is a people - what the Meech Lake boys would call a
> "distinct society." Culture ... is not just the
> state-supported stagey stuff. Neither is it Easter eggs
> and lederhosen, peasant dances, and artsy-craftsy
> masterpieces destined for garage sales.

Spicer's strongest criticism of multiculturalism was in his

last column in the sample under study. "The best and worst of

multiculturalism" in July 1988 focused mostly on the "worst". While repeating many of his previous themes, he singled out "ethnic politics and ethnic politicians" in this piece:

> By creating a tax-supported network of professional ethnic lobbyists, and by using its control of visas to portray itself as the "immigrants party," the Liberal party created a monster. In doing so, it gave a new breed of ethnic careerists a salaried opportunity to exact grants in perpetuity from Canadian taxpayers. And it forced the Tories and NDP to scramble for ethnic votes too - not in a healthy way, inspired by genuine respect for numbers and cultures and rights; but, with a political system increasingly in thrall to rival recent immigrant groups, as a kind of tribal outbidding.

Official multiculturalism was viewed as an obstacle to what would be a natural progression on the path of national unity:

> ... this time we're going beyond respecting and funding non-traditional groups (emphasis added); we have a law demanding not just the preservation of multiculturalism, but its "enhancement" ... In a word, we are about to legislate ethnicity as a feature of Canadian life ... It's a law, and as a concept, that a perverse humour might say it draws some inspiration from South Africa. Are we setting up fiscal Bantustans?

Spicer also presented the "muscle-backed ethnic voting" at Liberal Party nomination meetings as further illustration of the "worst of multiculturalism".

Significantly, all other op-ed pieces as well as features after 1986 in the Ottawa Citizen sample were also negative towards multiculturalism. A June 1987 review of The Sorrow and the Terror by Claire Blaise and Bharati Mukherjee seemed to agree with its authors' implications that multiculturalism's "ghettoization" tendencies had given rise to the Canadian "Sikh terrorist":

> Marginalized and discriminated against in Canada, the Sikh terrorist is "born in Canada," a product of the hostile environment that surrounds him ... The real

35

> contribution of The Sorrow and the Terror is its
> undeniable revelation of Air-india Flight 182 as a
> uniquely Canadian tragedy. It is an important revelation
> as it indicts a multiculturalism policy of which
> Canadians have been proud ... While that policy is
> usually understood as being tolerant in not imposing
> Canadianism on immigrants - as the U.S. "melting pot"
> does - it is, say the authors, a smokescreen for
> witholding Canadianness from immigrants who want it and
> deserve it.

It is interesting that the precise point which this reviewer, a
member of the Ottawa Citizen staff, found to be "an important
revelation" caused the authors of the book to lose credibility in
the eyes of the reviewer of the same publication in the Montreal
Gazette - a paper with a much more favourable attitude towards
multiculturalism.

An August 1987 column by Marjorie Nichols dwelt on the subject
of multiculturalism as a political ploy. It portrayed the members
of cultural minorities as made up of "ethnic voting blocs" which
were up for grabs.

> It's difficult to put a precise figure on the number of
> voters who could be classified as ethnic. Suffice it to
> say that in the past three decades, Canada has opened
> its doors to 4.5 million immigrants (implication: all
> are "ethnics"). Given that most of those have mated and
> procreated, it's obvious why the prime minister is
> concentrating his efforts on multicultural matters.

This theme of criticism of multiculturalism generally treated
minority members as inextricably linked in "blocs" rather than
having individual identities, while the members of majority
cultures were usually treated as individuals. Only cultural
funding, race relations and immigration are presented as being of
significance for "ethnic voters", who are almost never referred to

in stories about other issues of national importance such as the economy.

Nichols' criticism of multiculturalism became more direct in her December 2, 1987 column in response to the tabling of the Multiculturalism Bill in parliament. She saw the commitment to "preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French" as a "potential threat to bilingualism":

> This attempt to give some official status to languages other than English and French represents a decided departure from long-standing Canadian policy ... this step toward multilingualism has to be considered within the context of other Mulroney government initiatives, especially the Meech Lake constitutional accord ... the effect (of which) ... could be to further divide Quebec and the rest of the country on the basis of language ... (as) it fails to place the onus on the English-speaking provinces to promote the use of French.

The columnist also argued that as language "is an integral part of culture" the government's promotion of multiculturalism would inevitably lead to multilingualism.

Two days later, the newspaper had an editorial that repeated Nichols's fears about the "multilingual" threat to bilingualism. And while it did declare support for the principle of fighting racism, it went on to criticize the proposed legislation's shortcomings on social issues:

> "We support any serious attempt to eradicate racism and enhance employment and education opportunities for visible minorities. We recognize that multiculturalism enriches this country, and distinguishes us from other nations ... (But) This bill will be a disappointment to Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds. It fails to give teeth to the fight against prejudice and racism; on the other hand, it makes an irresponsible promise on language that could rekindle old arguments.

It also criticized the political exploitation of multiculturalism by a government preparing for an election.

After the bill was passed into law, the Ottawa Citizen had three feature articles on multiculturalism in a Saturday edition in July 1988. The general tone of the write-ups, two of which were by Daniel Drolet - the reporter assigned to the "multiculturalism beat" - was negative. Reiterating the critique of the December 1987 editorial, he complained that "multiculturalism has become such a motherhood issue that there has been little debate about what it is and what it should be" and that "the teaching of heritage languages took far more money than projects like promoting good race relations." He quoted the well-known "ethnic" critic of multiculturalism, Bhausaheb Ubale, repeating another common theme of criticism in the Ottawa Citizen, namely, the growing power of ethnocultural groups:

> ... the large ethnic groups are using multiculturalism policy as a lever to pry advantages from the federal government, and the government is going along in the hope of attracting votes ... The smaller groups, he says, are being left out ... ethnic powerbrokers are emerging in ethnic communities and acting as go-betweens between ethnic groups and politicians, and this contributes to ghettoizing the ethnic communities ... "a government considering the appointment of an ethnic to the board of a Crown corporation would not only look at his or her qualifications but also at his or her ties to an ethnic group, and the political mileage that can be derived from that appointment ... the social peace of Canada may suffer from multiculturalism."

In his backgrounder on heritage languages, Drolet implicitly stated that too much was being spent on teaching them and that it was often an irrational exercise. The article's lead reads:

38

The federal government helped fund the teaching of more
than 60 languages other than English and French in Canada
last year, including two that are all but dead in their
countries of origin. The government also subsidized the
teaching of languages by ethnic groups hardly present in
the country - all under a Secretary of State
multiculturalism program to fund heritage language
teaching.

The third article in the issue dwelt on the perceived irrationality

of multiculturalism grants, implying that the criteria on which

group qualified as an "ethnic" entity was unclear, that the

relationships of some grant recipients' activities to multi-

culturalism were ambiguous, and that Multiculturalism appeared to

be subsidizing certain religious institutions.

A September 1988 editorial responded to the announcements of

the proposed creation of the Department of Multiculturalism and of

the granting of compensation to Japanese-Canadians by placing them

in the frame of government "attempts to woo ethnic voters". It

reiterated the ghettoization theme, stating that "Minority

communities should be represented in all federal departments - in

all areas of Canadian life - not relegated to one department."

(Significantly, this article was the only one in the study where

the redress issue was spoken of in the same breath as multi-

culturalism.)

The headline of a May 1988 feature by Paul Gessell of the

Ottawa Citizen's parliamentary staff focused on "Canada's cultural

mosaic flexing its political muscles." The report uses negative

stereotyping to show that "the ethnic revolution" on the national

political scene is causing strife. The writer speaks of nomination

candidates "courting the multicultural vote", of "blocks" of "ethnic voters" showing their "political muscle" which led to "accusations of violence, racism and other dirty tricks". The old order was portrayed as coming under unfair attack when "small but active minorities sometimes can wrest power of a riding association from a more representative group."

Race Relations

13 articles were primarily on this topic. A June 1981 editorial was unequivocal in its support of James Fleming's program of "tackling the problem of racism" (the newspaper's words). It is interesting to note the rare (positive) link that editorial opinion made between race relations and multiculturalism:

> To deal with this problem at the source requires an education program, not just in the schools (as this program will attempt), but in the home. One element of Fleming's campaign will be a direct mailing to inform Canadians of "the benefits of cultural pluralism." These, and other aspects of the scheme (setting up a racism research unit, multi-media advertising, a national symposium and so on), are a small response to a growing social problem. In an imperfect world, even a small response is better than none.

However, this favourable attitude was replaced by the ominous headline, "An Orwellian attack" in a November 1981 editorial that criticized the same minister's "irrational charge of quasi-racism on the mass media," exhibiting strong opposition to anti-racism legislation affecting publications.

> We in the media don't, in his opinion, adequately reflect the multicultural make-up of Canadian society ... This is the minister who will be responsible for introducing any legislation that may flow out of the Kent report (on newspapers) ... Will racism be used as an excuse to

control the media? Is the press going to be used as an excuse to distort coverage to reflect the world as idealists would like to see it ...

A December 1982 editorial on an "incident in which racist abuse was reportedly hurled at an Ottawa Indian (Sikh) taxi driver" was also against the application of criminal penalties to proscribe free speech. Such attitudes "can and should be opposed, but with argument and education, not legal coercion." But no mention was made of the Multiculturalism Directorate's initiatives in this direction, unlike the applause that Fleming's proposal received in June 1981.

Responding to James Fleming's proposal of an all-party study of racism across Canada, a May 1983 editorial suggested that in addition to studying discrimination against visible minorities the study should be expanded to include the "problems of Canada's invisible minorities" such as anti-Semitism and "the racism some anglophones and francophones show towards each other." The write-up went on to state that the proposed study was based on political grounds because "there are quite a few ridings in which the racially visible minorities could have a significant effect on the voting pattern next time."

An alternative political critique appeared in a feature on June 1, 1983 by Stephen Bindman on the findings of a Multi-culturalism study on racism, which stated:

"Multiculturalism ... is a government program, not a political reality successfully reflected in the makeup of the government." Unsuccessful or non-existent affirmative action programs, bilingualism requirements

and the preference given to Canadian citizens in hiring are among the factors cited.

However, Mohammed Azhar Ali Khan in his column on June 22, in addition to reporting recent revelations of increasing racism in the country, spoke positively of new initiatives:

> Fleming, departing from the policy of his predecessors, is not merely providing assistance to minorities to put on cultural shows and conduct language lessons. He is raising questions about the integration of the minorities in Canada. Are their women being abused? Are they getting a fair deal economically? in the media?

The relationship of Multiculturalism's initiatives to better race relations were rarely referred to in the following write-ups in the Ottawa Citizen.

Employment Equity

There were no articles in the Ottawa Citizen sample that framed primarily within this topic.

Japanese-Canadian Redress

Although several references were made to Multiculturalism ministers in articles framed mainly under this subject, there was no discussion on the relationship of multiculturalism to the issue.

Winnipeg Free Press

Of the 57 articles in the sample, there were 11 editorials, three columns, six features (including those by guest writers) and 27 news stories. (A high proportion of the latter was included

because of the paucity of op-ed pieces on multiculturalism issues by the paper's staff.)

Multiculturalism

Only ten pieces could be regarded as framed primarily within this topic. Two features in September 1982 that focused on multiculturalism were by a team of three guest (academic) writers (Raymond Perry, Rodney Clifton and Stella Hryniuk). "A long road to multiculturalism" traced the history of intercultural relations in this "country of immigrants". It concluded:

> At one time Canada may have been an openly discriminatory society ... Now the guidelines of multicultural policy offer ... a prospect that responds to Canadian experience and reality ... it recognizes that people of different cultures can maintain something of their ethnic identity while going through the process of developing a strong sense of belonging and commitment to Canada.

The subsequent article seems to question the effectiveness of "folklorama" expositions in fostering interethnic relationships. Its verdict on multiculturalism was mixed:

> ... federal support for interethnic co-operation programs is weak, partly because education is a provincial matter, and partly because multiculturalism, as a policy was officially introduced into Canada only ten years ago. Consequently, little financial support has been made available for the research and development of programs designed to promote interethnic co-operation. Lack of funds also hampers the selection and training of teachers to implement such programs ...

These contributions notwithstanding, articles on multiculturalism did not begin to form a distinct trend until 1984, and even then the lone piece on the topic that year did not mention the term "multiculturalism".

43

Much of the following coverage was on federal matters, and appears to have been given an impetus by the tenure of Jack Murta, a Manitoba MP, as Multiculturalism minister. Reportage revolved largely around proposed multiculturalism legislation. A February 1985 article quoted an intercultural organization official as saying, "For the first time, they are talking about real issues (employment equity, fairness and racism), not Folklorama" - indicating the newspaper's sensitivity to these matters. However, in coverage where the dominant frame was racism or employment equity, multiculturalism was rarely mentioned.

An August 1985 piece by the paper's Ottawa correspondent on government intentions to form a multiculturalism ministry that would "service the needs of Canada's ethnic community" was placed in the context of the political rivalry between Manitoba and Ontario. The writer reported that "many Toronto MPs were pushing for a change (and the replacement of Murta) because they feel Murta has kept a low profile in the multiculturalism portfolio." According to "a highly placed government source" quoted by the reporter, "How multiculturalism is perceived across the country will elect or defeat the MPs from Toronto ... They'll feel the impact quicker than say somebody from Winnipeg ..." This theme reappeared in the September 1988 article announcing the proposed creation of a multiculturalism department.

> One senior (Tory) party worker from Manitoba close to
> Multiculturalism Minister Gerry Weiner said Mulroney had
> the upcoming election in mind. "What they are looking
> for is more support in Toronto (ethnic) ridings where
> things are really going up and down".

A complaint that "Ottawa is ignoring Manitoba's concerns on multiculturalism" had also been reported in a May 1985 write-up. It related the dismay of a director of the Manitoba Intercultural Council at not being invited to give oral testimony to the parliamentary committee studying the proposed Multiculturalism Act: "We consider ourselves to be leaders in the field of multiculturalism, and for them not to listen to our concerns upsets us."

Otto Jelinek's initiative regarding multiculturalism and business appears to have given rise to an editorial in May 15, 1986; however, the write-up took a much broader look at multiculturalism. In the paper's view, "The (ethnocultural) associations look to governments for increased spending especially in support of heritage language teaching (and) ... Members of minority groups have to count on government and human rights commissions to help them cross the barriers of discrimination in housing, employment and services." The bulk of the editorial, however, compared multiculturalism with bilingualism:

> Multiculturalism is a popular song in Manitoba, a whole lot more popular than bilingualism ... (The bilingual "compromise") disregarded all those who do not feel attached either to the French community in Canada or to the English. It is therefore supplemented in the constitution, in the federal government grants and in the speeches of politicians, by verbal and material acknowledgements of the value of minority cultures.

On the "political basis of multiculturalism" it stated:

> The ethnic associations are extremely active and well-organized, and able to deliver large crowds of voters. No politician can disregard their views. Ethnic-minority Canada, however, does not have a single political agenda nor an identifiable cluster of electoral

45

districts in its gift the way that French Canada has ...
The ethnic associations can agree in seeking formal
acknowledgement of Canada's multicultural character and
in seeking government grants for ethnic associations.
That is what they get.

Race Relations

22 of the 59 Winnipeg Free Press articles studied were
primarily on race relations topics. The role of police was the
subject of a significant number of write-ups, yet there was only
passing mention of the Multiculturalism Directorate/Sector's
initiatives in improving relations between police forces and
cultural minorities. A number of articles on race relations
revolved around the subject of studies or inquiries.

An April 1981 piece announced that the Manitoba Association
for Rights and Liberties "had received a $12,000 grant from the
federal secretary of state's department to help finance a six-month
study on racial discrimination in the city" without mentioning
multiculturalism - the concept or the Directorate. Two more
articles on the study appeared, respectively, on November 1981 and
March 1982. The former referred to the source of funds as "the
federal government", and the latter did not mention it at all.
Seven articles in 1982 and 1983 dealt with studies or inquiries.
A May 27, 1983 editorial stated:

A parliamentary inquiry will not do much to change the
minds of the eight-to-11 per cent of hard-core bigots
Multiculturalism Minister James Fleming claims to have
detected in Canadian society ... (But) it could help
demonstrate to Canada's victimized minorities that, when
they face threats or violence from bigots, the government
is firmly on their side.

However, since newspapers appear to be extremely sensitive to charges of biased reporting (as Ottawa Citizen's reaction in November 1981 demonstrated), the Winnipeg Free Press's views on racism studies took a drastic turn four days later when the details of the previous study were released. The report stated that the Winnipeg media, including the Winnipeg Free Press, had needlessly and habitually reported the ethnic origin of non-Caucasians involved in incidents. This was followed by a May 31 story reporting that the spokesman for the paper "took exception" to this finding. A June 1983 article reported that "A Queen's University psychology professor has called into question the criteria used to judge racial prejudice in Canada." However, it became apparent in the second half of the piece that the scholar (Rudolf Kalin) had not seen "the recent studies on racial tolerance done for Multiculturalism Minister James Fleming" and that his comments had been of a general nature.

Nevertheless, the Winnipeg Free Press's tendency of highlighting criticism of studies on race relations continued: a December 1985 article reported that the methodology of a "$45,500 study, done by Policy Concepts of Toronto for the Employment and Immigration Department" was "better suited to testing someone's peanut butter tastes than attitudes on racism, a local pollster said yesterday." The second half of the report dwelt on the response of officials of ethnocultural organizations concerned about the public perception that immigrants "add to unemployment and welfare rolls and compete with Canadians (the newspaper's

emphasis) for jobs" as indicated by the study. The jobs theme could have been presented as the dominant frame of the article, whose headline read instead "Race study method rapped by pollster".

In two September 1983 pieces, one of which was an editorial, the Winnipeg mayor's advisory committee on race relations came under attack . The newspaper accused the committee of indulging in politics rather than dealing with the difficult issues. It criticized the officials of cultural organizations as being unrepresentative of entire minority communities, and the municipal officials of electioneering for they dealt only with the community officials. A May 1985 editorial on the subject of racism against native Indians stated that the

> "mayor's committee on race relations would be ideal body for the job of applying rational thinking, careful factual research and political sensitivity to the Winnipeg phenomenon everybody mentions and nobody seriously comes to grips with ... The government that opens the subject may wind up incurring additional costs, and so neither Ottawa nor the province opens it."

None of the above articles mentioned multiculturalism, which was also not referred to in four 1984 articles that dealt with the allegations of racism against the Winnipeg Sun.

A June 1988 feature on a conference on race relations was by a guest writer, who was the former executive director of the Manitoba Association of Rights and Liberties. Unlike the newspaper's own writers, the author made direct links between multiculturalism, racism and employment equity:

> School officials should understand that the best program to promote multiculturalism and cross-cultural understanding cannot prevent incidents of violence among students which may involve racism ... Hitner,

48

>vice-chairman of the Toronto (race relations) committee,
emphasized that affirmative action is the main way to
achieve greater equality for all groups in our
multicultural society ... Here we have an equal
opportunity program but city council has explicitly
refused to endorse the term "affirmative action."

Such discussions of terminology related to multiculturalism issues is also rare among journalists.

Employment Equity

While this subject came up in some articles regarding multiculturalism and racism, it only formed the dominant frame in two news reports, neither of which mentioned multiculturalism. An April 1986 article focused on criticism about a training program for cultural minorities. The headline "$515,000 tagged for ethnic project" seemed to say that it was money wasted - especially when read together with the sub-heading, "'I could do it without this,' student in training program concedes". While the piece mentioned that "Ottawa" was paying the bulk of the amount, it did not state which department of the government was involved. A June 1987 article reported the findings of a survey that found that "None of the 104 employees of the city department in charge of equal opportunity hiring is a member of a visible minority ..."

Japanese Redress

This running story consisted of the largest number (25) of the 59 the Winnipeg Free Press articles studied. The general frame was that of citizenship and racism, with no link being made to the

concept of multiculturalism. Two 1986 editorials seemed to be in favour of a redress solution that "might be administered by an existing government agency ... It need not be a lavish new bureaucracy ..." However, the paper did not indicate which government agency would be appropriate for the task.

Academic Papers

In order to observe clearly any significant changes in the types of criticism made in scholarly articles discussing multiculturalism, only those falling at the beginning and the end of the study period were retained in the sample. Six fell into the 1981/82 slot and four in 1987/88. All dealt with some aspect of multiculturalism; however, it was significant that whereas employment equity was discussed by all the articles in the earlier years, all of the later papers brought up the subject of racism. Unlike the tendency in newspapers, the academics made definite connections between multiculturalism and race relations and multiculturalism and employment equity. Only one (1988) article mentioned the Japanese Canadian redress issue, which was also made within the framework of multiculturalism.

Several academics remarked on the perceived ambiguity and contradictions of the policy. The political critique of multiculturalism included that accusing governments of exploiting the policy to gain support from minority cultural groups, whose leaderships were also assailed for playing along with politicians for their own gains. As regards the administration of the policy, a continuous thread of criticism focused on the allegedly arbitrary categorization of minority groups by the Directorate/Sector.

Unlike the dominant perception in the press, funding of multicultural programs - especially those in the social sector - was often seen as being inadequate. Most academics favoured the

tilting of multiculturalism activities in favour of race relations and employment equity, and the reduction of those aimed at cultural retention. Some, especially those in the later period, saw the encouragement of cultural retention as inhibiting national unity and creating a lack of acceptance of the policy among the general public. Interestingly, some academics also tended to present the criticism of high-profile journalists as representing the general mood of the country.

1981/82

Brian Bullivant[1] couched his basic argument in political/ power-sharing terms. He perceived multiculturalism's emphasis on cultural retention as the dominant groups' way of keeping cultural minorities from genuinely participating in mainstream society:

> The focus on the expressive side of culture and the stress on cultural lifestyles draws attention away from the instrumental or fundamental side of culture as a problem-solving, survival program or design for living, intimately connected with an ethnic group's life chances.

Although newspapers tended to criticize the "song and dance" orientation of official multiculturalism, they did not, like Bullivant, view it as a means to control the minority groups.

Manoly Lupul's critique[2] was framed in a similar context. For him, "notwithstanding today's higher profile for the concept of

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[1]"Multiculturalism - Pluralist Orthodoxy or Ethnic Hegemony," Canadian Ethnic Studies (1981) 13:2, 1-22.

[2]"The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism," Journal of Canadian Studies (1982) 17:1, 93-102.

multiculturalism in Ottawa, the implementation of multiculturalism as government policy must be termed as a failure." He blamed the low profile that the Trudeau government had given to it and the weakness of the Directorate and the minister's position within the cabinet as being the major political obstacles to the policy's success. Although a short version of this paper was published in the Globe and Mail in August 1982 (- not included in the study sample -), neither that newspaper nor any of the others picked up this theme of criticism; however, it was frequently quoted in various academic papers.

Lupul also made specific suggestions about employment equity:

> National institutions , both public and private, must be opened to greater minority participation ... the federal civil service is now more bilingual and the French fact more prominent in Ottawa because the employment opportunities for French Canadians have increased. This is a commendable form of affirmative action from which other groups must also benefit in a liberal democracy ... the principle has still to be recognized that minority groups have the right to jobs, contracts and access to the central institutions of Canadian life in rough relation to the proportion of their numbers in the population ...

Relatively few articles appear to have been generated by the press on the subject of employment equity, although the subject did crop up from time to time in the newspaper samples. However, the idea of employment equity for ethnocultural minority members was never related in the media to existent "affirmative action" for linguistic groups.

Norman Buchignani[3] stated that official multiculturalism had

failed

> because it was not based on an overall philosophy of
> Canadian ethnic pluralism and because its resources were
> quite limited ... multiculturalism has been a program
> aimed primarily at the interests of ethnic pressure
> groups and not the general public. Little has been done
> to contextualize ethnicity in terms which would make it
> something worthy of support by the substantial majority
> of Canadians who think of themselves primarily as
> Canadians and only secondarily (at best) as ethnics ...
> it is ironic that a policy which so blatantly assumes
> ethnic integration does little to assure that those
> ethnic Canadians who concede the constraints of national
> culture and economy are actually accorded the same
> treatment as others of the same class, sex and age ...
> multiculturalism based on ethnic culture is simply not
> enough in a polyracial society like Canada. A Canadian
> policy of multiracialism desperately needs to be
> developed.

The extension of the Multiculturalism Directorate's mandate to

cover race relations in 1981 had not been incorporated into

Buchignani's article.

"The rise of Québecois nationalism leaves little ideological

room for a theory of cultural pluralism," Buchignani also observed.

This statement appears to have been borne out in the articles of

Le Devoir's editorial staff.

Additionally, Buchignani was critical of official

multiculturalism using

> the concept of community as a cataloguing device in order
> to simplify its constituency. Calling Germans in
> Vancouver an ethnic community allows government
> bureaucrats to orient their programs towards German
> Vancouverites as if they were culturally homogenous and
> shared common interests. One program response is
> therefore possible for each 'community'. This fiction is

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[3]"Canadian Ethnic Research and Multiculturalism," Journal of
Canadian Studies (1982) 17:1, 16-34.

vigorously supported by ethnic leaders, who typically neither lead nor represent a community.

Victor Ujimoto[4] made a similar observation regarding the grouping of various peoples under the rubric of "visible minorities". While the theme of criticizing official multiculturalism's categorizations had not been picked up by journalists, newspaper articles in the later part of this study's sample increasingly assailed the representativity of "ethnic power brokers". A corollary to this theme was that the individual in a minority cultural community could not progress socio-politically on the national scene without the backing of his community's leadership. This mode of argument, along with that emphasizing individual merit over employment equity provisions may develop into a major theme of criticism against multiculturalism. The concept of individual choice in the official concept of multiculturalism is often disregarded and needs to be highlighted.

Ujimoto also noted:

> In spite of our government's sincerity and effort in facilitating multiculturalism, the lack of a clear statement of the multicultural policy and what it is supposed to mean to Canadians has severely limited the general Canadian public from participating more fully in terms of multicultural interaction and co-operation at the individual, collective and institutional levels.

He suggested the strengthened role of a "change agent" in leading the effort for a more effective role for multiculturalism. "The change agent (for example, the members of the Multiculturalism

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[4]"Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Planned Social Change for the Next Decade," _Journal of Canadian Studies_ (1982) 17:1, 111-121.

Directorate) must be able to provide 'persuasive content' ... or information as well as the impression that the federal government is sincere in its multiculturalism program and that it is not a 'cheap political bone.'" An alternative to persuation, is the "power strategy" which involves coercion to obtain compliance, for example, multicultural radio/television licensing requirements and affirmative employment programs. But Ujimoto cautioned that "power strategies" may backfire.

"If policies of multiculturalism are to be meaningful to ... (visible minority) groups, major efforts to eliminate racism will be needed," stated Anthony Richmond[5]. He brought up the issue of avoiding "a backlash against policies of multiculturalism and non-discrimination in the face of economic crises and competition for employment". This theme was often present in the newspapers during the economically harder times in the early and mid-1980s. Richmond suggested better funding for immigrant settlement services which were being considered at the time of publication of his article: "Failure to implement such programs now will generate greater economic and social costs later. Multiculturalism cannot be bought cheaply."

Alan Anderson[6] suggested that cultural retention programs be given less emphasis, that the federal government should collaborate

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[5]"Canadian Unemployment and the Threat to Multiculturalism," Journal of Canadian Studies (1982) 17:1.

[6]"Canadian Ethnic Studies: Traditional Preoccupations and New Directions," Journal of Canadian Studies (1982) 17:1, 5-15.

more closely with provincial authorities to develop multicultural education throughout the country, and that the needs of "the newer minorities" such as race relations programs be given greater priority. These ideas became common newspaper fare on multiculturalism in the later years of the sample.

1987/88

The political critique of multiculturalism continued in the articles at the end of the period of study. Writing before the tabling of the Multiculturalism Bill, Robert Harney[7] stated that the policy's

> ... rewards within the system seem to go to those ethnic groups which show the most coherence and claim the most clout in the voting booth ... most of us ... await the emergence of a clear corpus of law and regulations and an unequivocal political definition of what the newly written Constitution of the country means when it refers to the need for all its articles to be interpreted multiculturally ... The truth is that politicians and their supporters, potential clientele, have found it useful to remain ambiguous and vague about the meaning of multiculturalism.

Harney seemed to find it contradictory that while

> Government agencies describe themselves as dealing with ethnocultural issues and ethnic groups when, in fact, much of their clientele is immigrant and their problems, not merely those of culture, heritage and language, but socio-economic, legal or political, that is involving the "distributive justice" of each group receiving its fair share of government appointments, honours and grants.

He reiterated Buchignani's and Ujimoto's criticism of the categorization that multiculturalism imposed on communities:

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[7]"Canadian Multiculturalism, Immigrants and Ethnicity," (1987) unpublished paper.

> Descent means ethnicity; ethnicity means ethnic
> identification and participation ... thus, a perplexing
> problem and question for scholars is dismissed, and a
> complex group of people becomes simply a unit in the
> Canadian discourse on multiculturalism, a lesser god to
> be propitiated by politicians, a thing to be managed by
> civil servants, a vehicle to be made effective as a power
> base for those of the group who wish to use it for
> purposes of enhancing their own status and mobility in
> Canada.

Harney wrote that "Canadians of any descent group ... from academics and high public servants to journalists, local politicians and school teachers", feared multiculturalism. He appeared to have come to this conclusion by looking at the writings of Maclean's magazine's journalist Larry Zolf (whom he describes as a "son of immigrants from eastern Europe"), Keith Spicer ("a former commissioner of official languages and the influential editor of The Ottawa Citizen") and Julian Harvey ("a well-known Francophone Jesuit intellectual"). To them it

> reflects the presence of a sense of impending cultural
> and demographic apocalypse ... a future in which a
> baleful multiculturalism will lead to permissive refugee
> and migrant entry policies, government lack of will to
> improve assimilation and the belief among new immigrant
> groups in their right – perhaps even in their group
> obligations in terms of how government support programs
> work – to resist Canadianization and persist in exotic
> ways. Thus successful multiculturalism, in this view,
> will lead to the inundation of Canada by the
> unassimilable and the destruction of the Canadian or
> Canadien nation.

Such a view of the policy being an obstacle to national cohesion was a major theme in the press. This trend of thought posits that official multiculturalism encourages immigrant communities to remain insular and shun cross-cultural initiatives, ultimately leading to the rise of a multitude of socio-political islands

rather than an integrated body politic. The cross-cultural understanding aspects of multiculturalism and the affirmation of the values central to the Canadian way of life need to be emphasized in order to allay such fears.

Also quoting from Spicer, Gilles Paquet[8] lamented the "tribalization of Canadian society" by the policy. However, he raised the level of criticism by stating that this represented a

> resurgence of racism under a different name in Canada ... a new rhetoric, based on the right of each culture or ethnoculture to be different, has emerged ... (The) claim that groups are equal but different is illusory ... a difference can only mean a value difference, that there is some explicit or implicit hierarchy ...

His charge of an inverse, officially promoted kind of racism may be an emerging trend in the light of similar comments by Le Devoir's Jean-Claude Leclerc and the characterization by Spicer of Multiculturalism's financial support of minority cultural communities as creating "fiscal Bantustans" (July 1988).

While Paquet saw a "growing evidence of tolerance, of a shift from juxtaposition to integration, and signs of the emergence of a new citizenship to replace the old nationalities" he said that "these features do not appear to have been fostered by the multiculturalism policy ..." And although he acknowledged that Multiculturalism

> institutions and policies have helped cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers ... these efforts have been much less important than those brought to bear, on the other hand, to enhance their ethnocultural consciousness ... the multiculturalism policy has (therefore not) done

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[8]"Multiculturalism as National Policy," (1988) unpublished paper.

as much as it might have to nurture an ethnic or race relations policy in Canada. It has upto now emphasized ... ethnocentricism and segmentation with unintended consequences.

The accusation of "racism" fostered by official multiculturalism is launched from a different angle by Rosemary Sullivan[1]:

> There is much talk of the "Canadian immigrant experience" but, at least in official terms, the writers are meant to think of themselves as separate from the national community, and even separate from each other. Their project seems to be to rehearse their "exotic" backgrounds; to be quaintly and eternally ethnic. And to get paid for it by the multicultural directorate.

This theme of criticism has recently been appearing from time to time in the cultural sections of various newspapers, but does not make it to the editorial pages for it does not form part of the dominant critique of multiculturalism.

An alternative to the dominant modes of criticism was also offered by Daiva Stasiulis[2] who acknowledged that

> ... the stated priorities of the current policy - such as race relations and the problems faced by immigrant women, its new advocacy role with respect to business, labour, the police and other government agencies, its enhanced legislative and administrative visibility are evidence that the policy has indeed advanced from its popular image of "ethnics dancing in church basements."

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[1]"The Multicultural Divide: Where's the mosaic? It's time to open the doors of the CanLit club?" This Magazine (Mar-Apr 1988) 22:1, 25-30.

[2]"The Symbolic Mirror Reaffirmed: Multiculturalism Policy," (1988) unpublished paper.

However, she went on to state that these "trends have heightened the contradictions within multiculturalism and undermined its continued viability in securing the consent of ethnic communities across class lines ... (because) all innovations appear to be constrained by the policy's original terms of reference, which are narrow, vague and focused on cultural change."

Stasiulis saw "multiculturalism as a symbolic policy which responds to the status concerns of ethnocultural minorities" rather than one seeking genuine change. This situation arose from the "non-receptive nature of the larger society, the political and administrative subordination of multiculturalism, and its relative powerlessness to bring about fundamental change in Canadian institutions."

The implementation of Multiculturalism's race relations program was based on "inter-group activities and intercultural/cross-cultural relationships ... (and) can best be understood as the policy's pursuit of the path of least resistance," wrote Stasiulis.

> The research and resource material catalyzed and supported by the Multicultural Sector calls attention to ethnic and racial inequality as products of seemingly neutral institutional practices, in addition to biased attitudes. In addition, it begins to suggest the necessity for examining contradictory or conflictual interests and adversarial relationships that exist between employers and employees, established and minority workers, police and minority communities, etc. It also offers persuasive grounds for legislated and mandatory programs in order to alter patterns of racism rather than reliance on the marshalling of "goodwill." In contrast, the strategies pursued by the Sector to promote institutional change aimed at eliminating racial and

ethnic discrimination have not kept pace with this
paradigmatic shift in understanding.

Four briefs (Canadian Ethnocultural Committee, 1984 and 1986; Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations, 1985; and Multiculturalism Council of Saskatchewan, 1986) were studied. Although the briefs covered a narrow range of issues, they expressed some very specific matters not appearing elsewhere in the study sample. Demands were made for structural changes in the administrative infrastructure and the legislation governing multiculturalism, race relations and employment equity. There were several suggestions for the monitoring of media to ensure that their content was reflective of a multicultural society. Proposals to increase data collection on ethnic bases for the more efficient administration of social equity programs contrasted with criticism in the media of such practises.

Multiculturalism

All the submissions had a lot to say about the scope and mandate of official multiculturalism. In 1984, the CEC asked for a Multiculturalism Act that would provide for a standing committee, a full-fledged department, the formal recognition of heritage languages and religious diversity of the country, and a "commitment of the entire federal government to the principles of multiculturalism." While the multireligious nature of Canadian society is a point that was significant for the CEC, it was not

made by any other ethnocultural organization or did not appear in any other material studied.

According to the brief, the functions of the proposed Department of Multiculturalism would include the co-ordination of race relations activities and a "media-watch" function. It stated that the Canadian Multiculturalism Council "should be in closer contact with the sentiments of ethnocultural communities" and that the ethnocultural organizations be consulted before the government made appointments to the CMC.

The submission specified the need for an "advisor on multiculturalism in the Prime Minister's Office" and for "greater ethnic representation" in the Senate and other government bodies. It asked for the extension of services to ethnic minority women, such as language training and career counselling (a need that was also identified in academic papers), and for the expansion of the ethnic studies program and of "multiculturalism in education". The brief also complained that national cultural institutions "have historically given far too little attention to cultural concerns of ethnic communities" and that they should increase their sensitivity to the needs of minority cultures.

While the CEC's 1986 submission reiterated many of the proposals listed in the 1984 brief, there were some significant new statements. This document detailed the organizations's vision of multiculturalism as administered by each federal cabinet portfolio. A major addition to the previous submission was the request for a

Multiculturalism Commissioner modelled on the Official Languages Commissioner.

The CEC stated that the possibility of "ghettoization" of the policy would be overcome by the "co-ordinating systems" of the Multiculturalism Act, the Standing Committee (which "would be able to call on various ministers and senior officials as it sees fit to discuss the implication of Multiculturalism at any place in the government"), the Commissioner (who "would monitor the performance in various departments, conduct investigations and report to parliament on an annual basis") and the Adviser in the PMO (who "would assist the Prime Minister in carrying out his responsibilities in this area").

In responding to the idea that Multiculturalism become part of a "super ministry" including Immigration and Citizenship, the CEC gave an indication of its understanding of the multicultural identity of the nation:

> Philosophically we do not believe that Multiculturalism is or should be seen to be an "immigrant" policy. Immigration policies form a part of Multiculturalism and not the other way around. Operationally, Multiculturalism applies to all Canadians, not just ethnic communities or new Canadians ...

The CEC saw the direction of the multiculturalism policy as developing along "two basic principles" - cultural retention and cultural integration. While urging the continuation of both directions, it made a statement which appears to imply the expansion of the scope of official multiculturalism to include French and English non-professional cultural activities: "The

Multiculturalism Sector has a responsibility to foster the heritage cultures of all Canadian communities, especially amateur groups which do not meet the Canada Council requirements of professionalism." (Such an extension of Multiculturalism's mandate, may engender a more favourable response to the policy from the majority British and French ethnocultural groups. Although this would obviously strain the agency's finances, it would, on the other hand, justify greater budgetary allocations to it.)

The Multiculturalism Council of Saskatchewan's brief presented in 1986 stressed a "holistic" approach and criticized the government for not doing the same:

> Multiculturalism deals with the total person, total group, and total society. It is much more than a set of programs or priorities or problems. It is an integrating force which affects all facets of our lives. Consequently, we cannot downplay one component (for example, cultural retention) while emphasizing another (for example, race relations or multicultural business). Each component of multiculturalism supports others. Multiculturalism is concerned with all aspects of the problem and we, therefore, must attack these issues with an integrated approach ... This holistic or integrated approach has not been in evidence from the federal government and Parliament. We see many different programs and priorities which deal with very specific issues or populations but do not fit into an overall plan or approach. These thrusts also tend to operate at the most visible level but rarely get to the real issues of lack of acceptance, justice, and respect. And often the programs negate previous efforts rather than building on past work.

The Saskatchewan council reiterated the CEC's request for a Multiculturalism ministry and urged that there be a greater degree of consultation with ethnocultural organizations. It stated that appointments to national cultural institutions "must reflect the

multicultural fabric" and that there be new guidelines for an "equitable depiction of minorities in the media". The brief also recommended television programming in non-official languages and the establishment of a "Multicultural Media Watch to monitor fairness and representativeness in advertising and programming". It proposed further that federal transfer payments be used for multicultural education programs and that a heritage languages institute be established.

Race Relations

The briefs were generally in favour of legislation aimed at curbing racially-motivated activity. Both the CEC submissions suggested Criminal Code amendments to strengthen laws against hate propaganda, racial violence and racial slurs, as well as the widening of the mandate of the Human Rights Commission and the amending of police hiring practices to recruit more minority members.

The submission by the Centre for Research-Action on Race Relations (CRARR) was largely oriented towards proposing a research-geared strategy against racism. It suggested the active collection of information such as the creation of a data base for establishing the extent of discrimination to develop effective programs.

CRARR also proposed data collection on ethnic origins of victims and perpetrators of crime, and of people held in detention: "there is no (other) way of knowing whether certain groups in

society are more frequently victims of certain crimes, or if there is an overrepresentation of certain groups in detention." Some writers in the mainstream media, however, see this form of racially-based data collection as being regressive.

The Multicultural Council of Saskatchewan's recommendations included the increase of resources to Human Rights Commissions "so that they may devote more effort to enforce the development and delivery of public cross-cultural programs"; that the "Criminal Code be amended to eliminate the need for prosecution to show intent to promote hatred in order to gain conviction"; and that "Cross-cultural training programs be developed for all segments of the justice system".

Employment Equity

The ethnocultural organizations appear to consider this issue to be of much greater significance than the press. In addition to asking for "affirmative action for visible and other cultural minorities in public and private sectors and contract compliance legislation for all companies" doing business with the government, the CEC asked that the Employment and Immigration Department should enable ethnocultural organizations to apply for funding under employment equity programs "which would automatically assist in training of ethnic minority youth". The CEC also stated that the government freeze on hiring would negate the effectiveness of equity programs.

A major focus of the CRARR submission was the initiation of action-oriented research to establish employment equity. It recommended that the national monthly labour force survey be modified to collect data on ethnic origins "to evaluate needs and to implement equity programs". The collection of data regarding the involvement of ethnic minorities in industries in order to target companies for employment equity was also suggested.

> Equal access should be evident in the federal Cabinet and Parliament, in federal appointments, in the judiciary, in public institutions, in Crown corporations, etc. Furthermore, it should be evident in professional associations (legal and medical professions), in post-secondary institutions and finally, equal access should be especially evident in the public service.

The Saskatchewan council proposed the legislation of "mandatory affirmative action programs", and that the methods of evaluating foreign credentials and entry requirements for training programs be reviewed. The latter two recommendations stemmed from problems of immigrant workers, which were not discussed in the other material under study.

Japanese Canadian Redress

The CEC briefs were the only ones to mention this issue. In 1984, the organization stated additionally: "Two other cases identified by our council are the Chinese-Canadian Head Tax and the Komagata Maru case." The 1986 submission added Ukrainian Canadians to this list.

Polls/Surveys

The results of three public opinion polls and two focus group surveys conducted for Multiculturalism and one poll commissioned by Québec's Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration, falling into the two ends of the period under study, were analyzed. Multiculturalism/immigration's effects on Canadian/Québecois culture formed part of all the studies; the scope of multiculturalism, multiculturalism funding, and national identity were also significant topics. The subject of racism came up in all polls and surveys done after 1980; however, employment equity and other affirmative multicultural legislation were not probed significantly. Views on other trends of common criticism in the press, namely, multiculturalism as a political ploy and the growing power of ethnic organizations were also left largely unexplored.

Findings generally showed that while multiculturalism was acceptable to the vast majority of the public, people were less willing to support it financially. Also interesting is the high level of agreement exhibited for the multicultural identity of Canada. French Canadians, young respondents and low-income earners, however, were generally less favourably disposed to multiculturalism.

There were some interesting findings from the focus group studies. The earlier one, which brought together members of cultural minority groups, revealed that they were less willing to receive government aid than generally believed. And the later

study, surveying a cross-section of the public, showed strong
feelings of apprehension regarding the erosion of mainstream
cultural values.

1980/81

> A 1980 Decima poll appeared to indicate

> that Canadians, in general, support the concept of a
> multicultural society and the intent of the policy
> regarding the development of such a society, but that
> that support is theoretical only. Canadians, it would
> appear, are willing to support such a policy only insofar
> as it does not impact upon them personally ... Only 15
> percent of those interviewed would be willing to pay more
> in the way of taxes "to finance multiculturalism"; 74
> percent are opposed.

Decima's findings also seemed to show that "members of the majority
ethnic group and 'disadvantaged' Canadians" made a "clear
association" between "immigration and the economic and social
problems facing Canada." However, contrary to the views held by
many press editorialists and columnists, 66 per cent referred to
Canada's identity as being multicultural.

The focus group study done in conjunction with the Decima poll
involved the holding of discussions with ten different groups from
six minority culture communities. Among the observations it made
were that

> Multiculturalism is strongly supported in an ideological
> sense but less so in strictly pragmatic terms ...
> Participants described themselves as self-reliant and
> independent - they did not particularly need or want
> general government support ...

It is interesting to note that the criticism of what was viewed as
governmental conceptions of ethnic identity "in terms of

folkdances, food and music rather than the more serious areas of education, family and language" was already present in this early period among such non-opinion leaders, simultaneously with the academics. It was not until much later that the media caught on with this theme of criticism.

Another significant observation emerged from the statements of the Black members of a focus group who said:

> "I think the idea of a black community is really a myth. I mean, there's no more of a black community than there is a white community. That isn't to say there aren't common denominators, common interests, common problems among the blacks."

This was echoed in the articles of Ujimoto (1982), Buchignani (1982) and Harney (1987), who criticized the way that official multiculturalism categorized communities.

A 1981 Gallup Omnibus Study for Multiculturalism was primarily based on race-related questions. 63% of the response to the statement "We are all immigrants in one way or another" was positive, and only 16% agreed that "The people of this country are looking less and less Canadian", indicating a favourable acceptance of the notion of a multicultural Canada in contrast to its general disparagement by certain journalists. 75% were also supportive of: "A culturally diverse country is a strong country".

However, once again, suggestions of extending funding were not received with enthusiasm: "I would limit non-white immigration and those who were let in would have to prove themselves before they were entitled to government-supported services" expressed the greatest degree (82%) of negativism toward multiculturalism of all

poll statements; and "I would support local organizations that worked toward multiculturalism and harmony amongst races" the second most negative response (52%). Interestingly, only the latter findings were highlighted in the press reporting of the survey, not the widely-based acceptance of the multicultural notion.

1987-88

A 1987 Thompson Lightstone poll showed consistently positive responses to the statements on the multicultural identity of Canada. However, it is important to note that the lowest positive response (65%) was for: "The Government of Canada should promote the development of a multicultural society". The poll failed to gauge the more "apprehensive" aspects of public attitudes regarding the policy, stated Optima Consultants. Matters such as the effects of multiculturalism on national unity, national culture, race relations and employment equity, and the political dynamics of multiculturalism, and government funding were all left out. Therefore the study did not provide a comprehensive picture of public perceptions regarding the policy.

The Francis, Williams and Johnson/Research Dimensions 1987 focus group study also indicated a high level of acceptance of the multicultural definition of the country; however, respondents persisted in equating multiculturalism with immigration. There were also some significant reservations expressed:

> A shared concern for those of British and Northern European background (who see themselves as sharing the same culture and values as "British heritage Canadians") worry about an appropriate racial mix for Canada. They

feel that decisions are being made for them, by a
government unresponsive to their desire to maintain
Canada as a predominantly white nation ... As with the
Quebecois, they resist attempts to see themselves as
simply one component of a cultural mosaic ... The biggest
fear and main drawback of a cultural mosaic mentioned by
all respondents is that of importing conflict and
terrorism ... Some fear that Canadians will be "swamped"
by immigrants and that the dominant culture and fabric
of Canadian life will become unrecognizable. Their fear
is that too many immigrants will enter Canada who do not
have interest in or a willingness to adopt Canadian
values and lifestyles.

The latter apprehension is also latent in press commentary and in

the articles by Robert Harney (1987) and Gilles Paquet (1988). Such

fears may stem from the lack of clear delineation of how much of

the domain of the public culture in a multicultural Canada is to

continue to be guided by mainstream values and how much will be

open to influence from cultures of newer immigrants.

The focus group study also revealed what appears to have been

an opposition to forms of legislation to institute multiculturalism

or to enforce employment equity. In response to a radio

advertisement introducing the Multiculturalism Act, the

statements that are least acceptable tend to hint at
government involvement. The message in the commercial,
and thus the purpose of the act, is believed to be
unnecessary. Most Canadians are confident that the
Charter of Rights and Freedoms has already entrenched
equality of all Canadians ... Respondents in all centres
volunteer their belief that the best person should always
be hired to fill a job vacancy. That ability is the main
criteria for choice in any hiring procedure.

These sentiments correspond with those of press commentators and

would appear to indicate that the public has not sufficiently

understood the structural inequity existent in society.

As regards financial support for multiculturalism:

Respondents believe the government should support
cultural differences as an ideal, but as tax payers, they
feel monetary support should come from within each
particular cultural group ... respondents do not believe
prejudice can be eliminated, and therefore, question the
cost and efficiency of such government plans. The school
system, however, is a justifiable expense and respondents
can relate to learning about others as an extension of
an ongoing program without additional cost to the tax
payer. At the same time, paying for children to learn a
language or about a culture outside the current
curriculum is generally not supported.

These views correspond to those critical of multiculturalism
funding in the press.

Sorecom's 1988 study on "Immigration and Racism" was done for
the Québec's Cultural Communities and Immigration ministry and was
confined to the province; it did not bring up the subject of
multiculturalism. Asked whether immigration was a serious menace
to the cultural survival of the francophones, 44% agreed while 49%
disagreed. However, it was significant that 49% of the francophones
and 55% of those under 34 who were surveyed concurred.

Although 60% disagreed with the statement that immigration was
an important factor in causing unemployment, 48% agreed that
immigration increasingly threatened social peace in Québec (-
Francophones, 51%; those with little education, 59%; low income
earners, 55%). 55% also agreed to the proposition that racial
troubles were inevitable if a high proportion of people of one race
were different from the majority.

Sorecom also asked a series of questions relating to the
personal domain regarding the possibilities of residing with Black
people, employing them, patronizing their businesses, and

75

inter-marrying with them. While the majority of responses to most of the questions indicated moderate reservations to inter-racial interaction, this mode of inquiry is more suited to gauging the acceptability of an assimilationist model of society than the integrationist one suggested by Canadian multiculturalism.

Ministerial Correspondence

As the sample of ministerial correspondence available for study (88 letters dating from 1980 to 1986) was highly unrepresentative of the entire corpus for this period, few observations could be made. While the selection of letters from 1980 to 1984 were largely critical of the policy in general, all of those available for 1986 were in response to Otto Jelinek's announcement regarding the possible reduction of funding for cultural retention activities. Most of the latter were written by officials of ethnocultural organizations protesting the proposed cuts in funding and the absence of consultation with them.

The correspondence from earlier years focused largely on criticizing the funding of multicultural activities and the perceived divisiveness of the policy, which was viewed as being politically inspired. As in the responses to the 1987 focus group study, multiculturalism was seen by various correspondents as being linked to immigration. While the themes of criticism expressed in the letters generally paralleled those in the press, the former tended to be more blunt in their comments.

FINDINGS

Primary Observations

1. There was a steady rise in the newspaper coverage of multiculturalism-related matters from 1980 to 1988.

2. The perception of multiculturalism is largely a negative one on the part of the press; while the media were somewhat reluctant even to use the term "multiculturalism" they have been referring to it more often in recent times. Editorialists, particularly, were most unwilling to endorse multiculturalism or even to mention it by name.

3. Multiculturalism is often viewed by the press as being an obstacle to nation-building and to the integrity of a national identity and a national culture.

4. Newspaper editorial writers generally did not relate race relations or community redress issues either administratively or conceptually to multiculturalism.

5. Negative perceptions of the political use of multiculturalism by governments, political parties and "ethnic power brokers" are shared by media and academic observers. A corollary to this form of criticism is the perceived inability of the individual member of a cultural minority to make progress in Canadian society without the support of his or her ethnocultural group's community organizations.

6. An emergent critique among some journalists and academics posits the perceived "tribalization"/"ghettoization" of Canadian society by multiculturalism as leading to a kind of inverse racism.

7. Some academics and focus group respondents were critical of the categorization schemes of cultural communities adopted by the Multiculturalism Directorate/Sector.

8. The public generally seems more favourably disposed towards the principles of multiculturalism and to a multicultural national identity than opinion leaders, but it expresses reservations regarding the spending of tax dollars to support minority cultures.

9. There is a certain level of apprehension in the majority communities regarding the erosion of basic Canadian values by immigrant cultures.

10. There was a trend of criticism in all materials concerning the perceived ambiguity and contradictions of multiculturalism.

Perspectives Adopted

1. Official Languages programs are generally treated by the media as a "natural" and acceptable price to pay for national unity, while multiculturalism funding is almost universally viewed as an unnecessary burden.

2. Employment equity is rarely treated in the press within the multiculturalism framework, while the academic perspective views the two as inter-related. The media were generally opposed to legislating affirmative action for ethnocultural minorities, while academic opinion was largely favourable to the concept.

3. The Japanese Canadian redress issue was treated by the media mostly within the broad frameworks of Canadian citizenship, human rights and racism, while mostly avoiding the concept of multiculturalism even in the feature articles.

4. There was a selective cross-over of ideas from the academics to the press; academics also appear increasingly prone to consider opinions expressed by "influential" journalists as being representative of the public's attitudes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Proposed Public Education Initiatives

1. The idea that multiculturalism has an important part to play in good race relations, in forestalling inter-group conflict and in enhancing cross-cultural understanding should be clearly expressed.

2. In order to aid the understanding of the relationship between multiculturalism and race relations and multiculturalism and communal redress, the Multiculturalism Sector needs to develop a public image of a government agency that deals with issues of social justice as related to ethnicity.

3. In order to counter the widely-perceived political nature of multiculturalism, it may be advisable to de-emphasize and actively counter this negative image in order to focus on the substantial gains to be achieved by the entire society through the multiculturalism policy.

4. The clarification of the domain of basic Canadian values and the place of other cultures within this national cultural framework would help allay fears that the mainstream culture will be eroded by conflicting values of immigrants.

5. The integrationist and nation-building role of multiculturalism should be emphasized to counter the criticism regarding the "tribalization"/"ghettoization" of Canadian society.

6. In order to foster a national multicultural identity, it may be more advantageous to use terms such as "first-generation Canadians" or "sixth-generation Canadians" rather than

"immigrants" or "Charter/Founding peoples". Native peoples could be referred to as "aboriginal Canadians" within this scheme.

7.   Endorsements of various programs by prominent members of cultural minorities who have made significant and visible contributions at the national, regional or local levels can serve to illustrate a healthy and viable multicultural national identity.

8.   The element of choice in participating in multiculturalism activities as a member of a cultural group needs to be emphasized as the appreciation of this concept is largely lacking.

9.   The respective places of bilingualism and multiculturalism in Canadian society need to be clarified in conjunction with an unambiguous explanation of the place of language in culture.

11. A clear explanation of the existent structural inequities in society should be disseminated in order to gain greater acceptance of the need for employment equity programs and other strategies to foster institutional change.

12. The history of Canada as a multicultural society even before Confederation needs to be emphasized.

13. In order to improve attitudes towards immigrants and the perception of their place in a multicultural society, the public needs to understand the crisis of falling population levels leading to economic stagnation and the greater burden for social services that will be borne by young Canadians, as

well as to become aware of the past and present contributions of immigrants to Canadian society.

14. The public also needs to become aware of the benefits that immigrants bring to the country in order to counter the largely false impression that immigrants are a burden on the social-economic infrastructure.

15. Media literacy programs with specific emphasis on the coverage of multiculturalism would assist members of the public develop a critical sense of what the media say about multiculturalism.

Attitude Research

Public perceptions of the following need to be surveyed:

1. The value of the Multiculturalism Act and a Multiculturalism and Citizenship department.

2. The politically-motivated nature of Multiculturalism activities.

3. The constituency of Multiculturalism.

4. The "power" of ethnocultural organizations.

5. The "tribalization" and "ghettoization" tendencies of the multiculturalism policy.

6. The essential aspects of "Canadian culture" and Canadian values in relation to multiculturalism.

7. The past, present and possible future contributions of minority cultures to Canada.

8. The falling population levels in relationship to immigration.

9. The need for specific Multiculturalism initiatives such as the Race Relations and Cross-cultural Understanding, Heritage Language and Cultural Retention, and Community Support and Participation programs.

10. The need for employment equity programs for ethnic minorities.

11. The value of cross-cultural programs in forestalling inter-group conflict.

12. The need for specific types of anti-racism legislation such as that controlling hate propaganda etc.

13. The relative value of government spending on culture connected with agencies other than those dealing primarily with multiculturalism, such as the CBC, National Museums and Council for Canada.

Policy Review

1. Considering the rising concern about what is perceived as the growing influence of ethnocultural organizations over the activities of the Sector and over the socio-political advancement of individuals of their respective communities, it may be useful to review policies regarding the high-profile interaction of Multiculturalism with the ethnocultural bodies. Initiatives encouraging the increased participation of individuals (independent of ethnocultural organizations) in the Sector's activities could also be considered.

2. A more broadly-based mandate of Multiculturalism covering all amateur activities in the country, regardless of whether they

belong to minority or majority cultures, would help give a clearer national image to the agency in the minds of the general public as well as aid in engendering firmer support for the concept of the multicultural identity of the nation. While the disbursements involved would require increased budgetary allotments to the Sector, they would be justified by the elevated public support for its expanded mandate.

3. Even though multiculturalism is meant to take the place of a unitary national culture, there is a strong feeling among the general public of a "Canadian way of life" which is increasingly seen as being threatened by the values of new immigrant groups. The concept of a unitary "Canadian culture" appears to be diffuse and undefined, and seems to include such diverse matters as "the Canadian accent" and respect for the law. It would be of value for the Sector to study such notions, especially in relation to minority cultures. Such a clarification of the dynamics of multiculturalism and "Canadian Culture" would help allay fears among the public about the long-term impact of multiculturalism.

4. There appears to be widespread confusion about the respective domains of language and culture in an officially bilingual and multicultural Canada (- fears regarding the advent of multilingualism through the Multicultural Act have been expressed). Public discourse currently tends to posit four separate ethnocultural segments in national society:

(a) "Anglophones", (b) "Francophones" (- two linguistic

designations that are often conceptualized as ethnocultural entities), (c) aboriginal peoples, and (d) "the multicultural community" (or "the ethnics"). The respective parameters of the policies dealing with bilingualism, multiculturalism and aboriginal communities, their interaction, and their practical effects in Canadian society need to be clarified for the public. A streamlining of the terminology dealing with multiculturalism would be critical for such an endeavour.

5. The image of multiculturalism as a socially relevant and nationally representative policy can be underscored by reviewing communication policies to emphasize more firmly (a) the enhanced role of the Sector in pursuing initiatives such as Race Relations and Cross-cultural Understanding, and (b) the policy's inclusion of cultural communities not generally identified by the public as being within Multiculturalism's constituency (e.g. Scots, Irish, natives).

RAW TABLES

All Newspapers - Main Topics

Main Topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism	1	2	3	1	4	8	8	16	17
Race Relations	7	9	22	19	15	7	7	5	8
Employment Equity	–	–	1	–	–	2	1	3	–
Japanese Canadian Redress	–	–	2	3	27	15	21	6	12
N=	8	11	28	23	46	32	37	30	37

All Newspapers - Sub-topics

Years

Sub-topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	1	4	2	6	1	7	4	6	6
Government/ Institutional positions	5	9	20	15	17	16	14	19	25
National Unity	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	4
National Identity	1	3	2	2	2	4	6	9	6
National Culture	1	1	2	3	1	3	4	10	4
Political considerations	1	0	0	3	0	2	2	7	7
Funding	0	3	2	2	2	2	5	5	5
Communal Power Structures	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	6
Individual Rights	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	4
Legislation/ Law enforcement	2	6	4	1	7	6	8	12	8
Studies/ Inquiries	2	6	12	11	4	4	2	4	7
Multi-culturalism not discussed	6	6	23	8	28	15	23	14	15
N=	8	11	28	23	46	32	37	30	37

Globe & Mail - Main Topics

Years

Main Topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism	-	1	1	1	3	1	3	2	1
Race Relations	4	1	2	2	1	-	2	-	-
Employment Equity	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-
Japanese Canadian Redress	-	-	1	-	3	4	2	3	3
N=	4	2	5	3	7	6	7	7	4

Globe & Mail - Sub-topics

Years

Sub-topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	-	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Government/ Institutional positions	3	2	3	2	2	1	3	3	1
National Unity	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1
National Identity	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	1
National Culture	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	1
Political considerations	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1
Funding	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1
Communal Power Structures	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1
Individual Rights	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	1	1	-	1	-	1	2	2	1
Studies/ Inquiries	2	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
Multi-culturalism not discussed	3	-	3	1	4	4	3	5	3
N=	4	2	5	3	7	6	7	7	4

Le Devoir - Main Topics

Year

Main Topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	4
Race Relations	2	1	6	6	4	1	1	1	5
Employment Equity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Japanese Canadian Redress	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	3
N=	3	1	6	6	6	5	3	7	12

94

Year

Sub-topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	1	-	-	2	-	2	1	2	-
Government/ Institutional positions	2	1	5	4	4	3	1	4	7
National Unity	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
National Identity	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	3	1
National Culture	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	-
Political considerations	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Funding	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Communal Power Structures	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Individual Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	1	1	-	-	2	4	1	3	3
Studies/ Inquiries	-	-	1	4	2	-	-	1	4
Multi-culturalism not discussed	2	1	6	2	3	2	3	2	3
N=	3	1	6	6	6	5	3	7	12

Montreal Gazette - Main Topics

	Year								
	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Main Topic									
Multi-culturalism	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	4
Race Relations	–	1	5	2	6	4	2	4	1
Employment Equity	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Japanese Canadian Redress	–	–	1	1	7	2	5	1	4
N=	0	1	6	3	12	9	8	8	9

Montreal Gazette - Sub-topics

Year

Sub-topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government/ Institutional positions	-	-	2	2	7	8	5	4	8
National Unity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
National Identity	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1
National Culture	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	3	2
Political considerations	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Funding	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Communal Power Structures	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Individual Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	-	1	2	-	5	1	1	2	2
Studies/ Inquiries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Multi-culturalism not discussed	-	1	5	3	11	6	5	5	4
N=	0	1	6	3	12	9	8	8	9

Ottawa Citizen - Main Topics

Year

Main Topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism	–	1	–	–	–	1	3	6	6
Race Relations	–	3	3	4	–	–	2	–	1
Employment Equity	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Japanese Canadian Redress	–	–	–	1	5	2	5	–	2
N=	0	4	3	5	5	3	10	6	9

Ottawa Citizen - Sub-topics

Year

Sub-topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	–	2	–	2	–	1	–	3	4
Government/ Institutional positions	–	4	3	4	–	1	3	6	6
National Unity	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	3	3
National Identity	–	3	1	–	–	–	1	3	3
National Culture	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	4	2
Political considerations	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	5	5
Funding	–	2	1	–	–	1	2	3	2
Communal Power Structures	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4
Individual Rights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	–	3	2	–	–	–	3	5	2
Studies/ Inquiries	–	4	2	3	–	1	2	1	2
Multi-culturalism not discussed	–	1	3	1	4	2	7	2	4
N=	0	4	3	5	5	3	10	6	9

99

Winnipeg Free Press - Main Topics

Year

Main Topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism	-	-	2	-	1	3	1	1	2
Race Relations	1	3	6	5	4	2	-	-	1
Employment Equity	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Japanese Canadian Redress	-	-	-	1	10	5	7	-	-
N=	1	3	8	6	15	10	9	2	3

Year

Sub-topic	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	-	-	1	1	-	3	1	-	1
Government/ Institutional positions	-	2	7	3	4	3	2	2	3
National Unity	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
National Identity	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	1	-
National Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Political considerations	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1
Funding	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	1
Communal Power Structures	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Individual Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Studies/ Inquiries	-	2	8	3	1	2	-	1	1
Multi-culturalism not discussed	1	3	6	1	6	1	5	-	-
N=	2	3	8	6	15	10	9	2	3

101

Academic Papers - Main Topics

Years

	81/82	87/88
Main topic		
Multi-culturalism	6	4
Race Relations	2	4
Employment Equity	6	2
Japanese Canadian Redress	-	1
N=	6	4

Academic Papers - Sub-topics

Years

	81/82	87/88
Sub-topic		
Multi-culturalism Mandate	6	4
Government/ Institutional positions	6	4
National Unity	2	4
National Identity	3	4
National Culture	2	3
Political considerations	4	4
Funding	2	2
Communal Power Structures	1	2
Individual Rights	-	-
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	2	2
Studies/ Inquiries	1	2
Multi-culturalism not discussed	-	-
N=	**6**	**4**

Ethnocultural Organization Briefs - Main Topics

	Year		
	84	85	86
Main topic			
Multi-culturalism	1	1	2
Race Relations	1	1	2
Employment Equity	1	1	2
Japanese Canadian Redress	1	-	1
N=	1	1	2

Ethnocultural Organization Briefs - Sub-topics

	Year		
	84	85	86
Sub-topic			
Multi-culturalism Mandate	1	1	2
Government/ Institutional positions	1	1	2
National Unity	-	-	-
National Identity	-	-	-
National Culture	-	-	2
Political considerations	-	-	-
Funding	-	-	2
Communal Power Structures	-	-	-
Individual Rights	-	-	-
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	1	1	2
Studies/ Inquiries	-	-	1
N=	1	1	2

Polls/Surveys - Main Topics

	Year			
	80	81	87	88
Main topic				
Multi-culturalism	2	1	2	-
Race Relations	-	1	2	-
Employment Equity	1	-	1	-
Japanese Canadian Redress	-	-	-	-
N=	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**

Polls/Surveys - Sub-topics

Year

Sub-topic	80	81	87	88
Multi-culturalism Mandate	2	-	1	-
Government/ Institutional positions	2	-	2	-
National Unity	-	1	1	-
National Identity	2	1	2	-
National Culture	2	1	2	1
Political considerations	-	-	-	-
Funding	1	1	1	-
Communal Power Structures	1	-	-	1
Individual Rights	-	-	-	-
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	-	-	2	-
Studies/ Inquiries	-	-	-	-
Multi-culturalism not discussed	-	-	-	1
N=	2	1	2	1

107

Ministerial Correspondence - Main Topics

| | Year | | | | |
	80	81	82	84	86
Main topic					
Multi- culturalism	15	2	1	1	69
Race Relations	-	-	-	-	-
Employment Equity	-	-	-	-	-
Japanese Canadian Redress	-	-	-	-	-
N=	15	2	1	1	69

Ministerial Correspondence - Sub-topics

	Year				
	80	81	82	84	86
Sub-topic					
Government/ Institutional positions	15	2	1	1	69
National Unity	4	1	-	-	-
National Identity	-	-	-	-	-
Political considerations	1	1	-	-	-
Funding	5	-	-	1	69
Communal Power Structures	-	-	-	-	-
Individual Rights	-	-	-	-	-
Multi-culturalism Mandate	6	-	1	-	69
Legislation/ Law Enforcement	-	-	-	-	-
Studies/ Inquiries	-	-	-	-	-
National Culture	-	-	-	-	-
Multi-culturalism not discussed	-	-	-	-	-
N=	15	2	1	1	69